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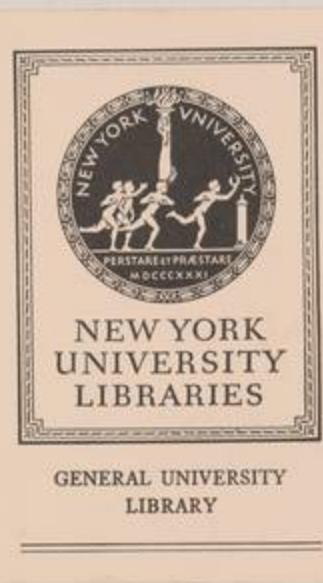
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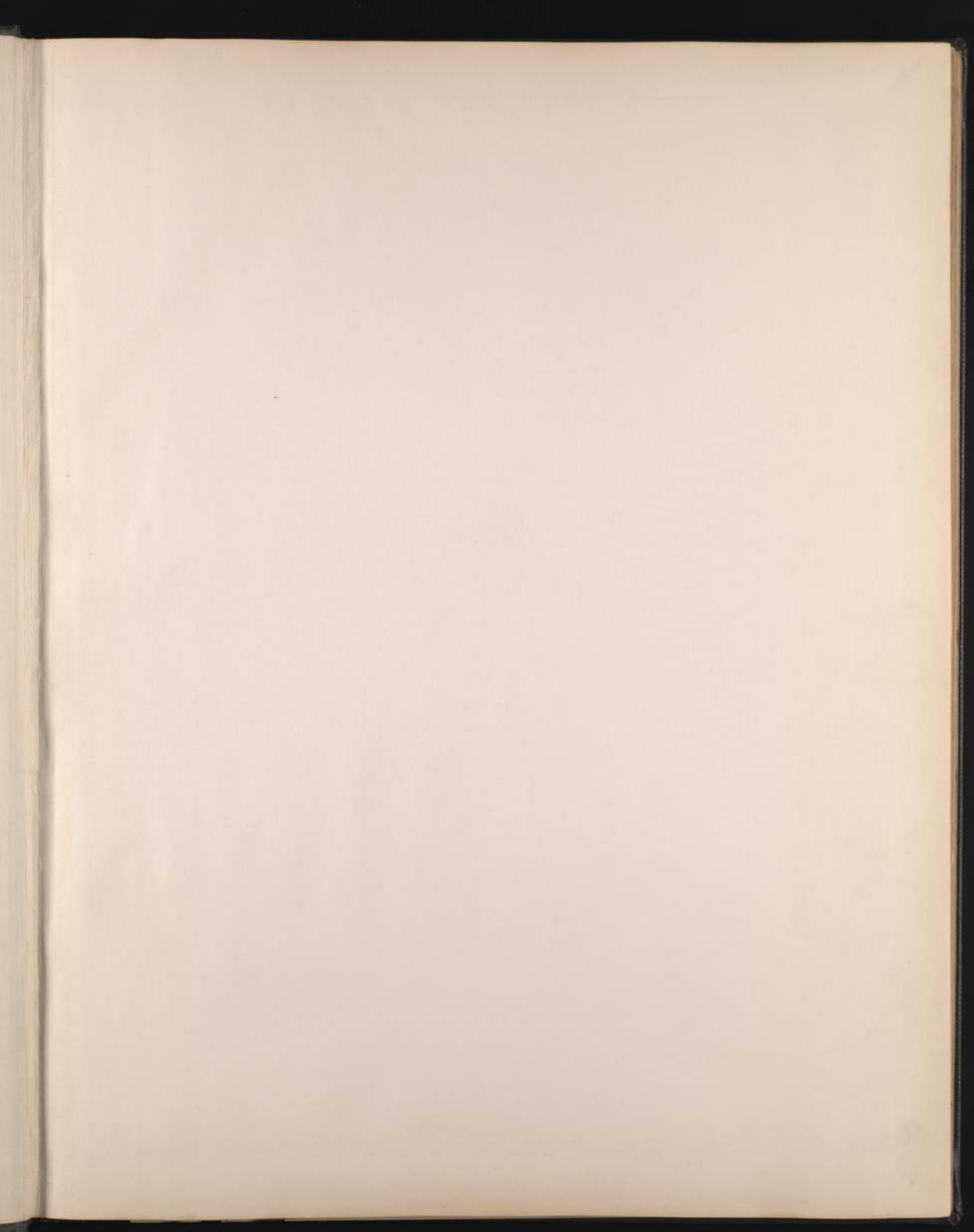
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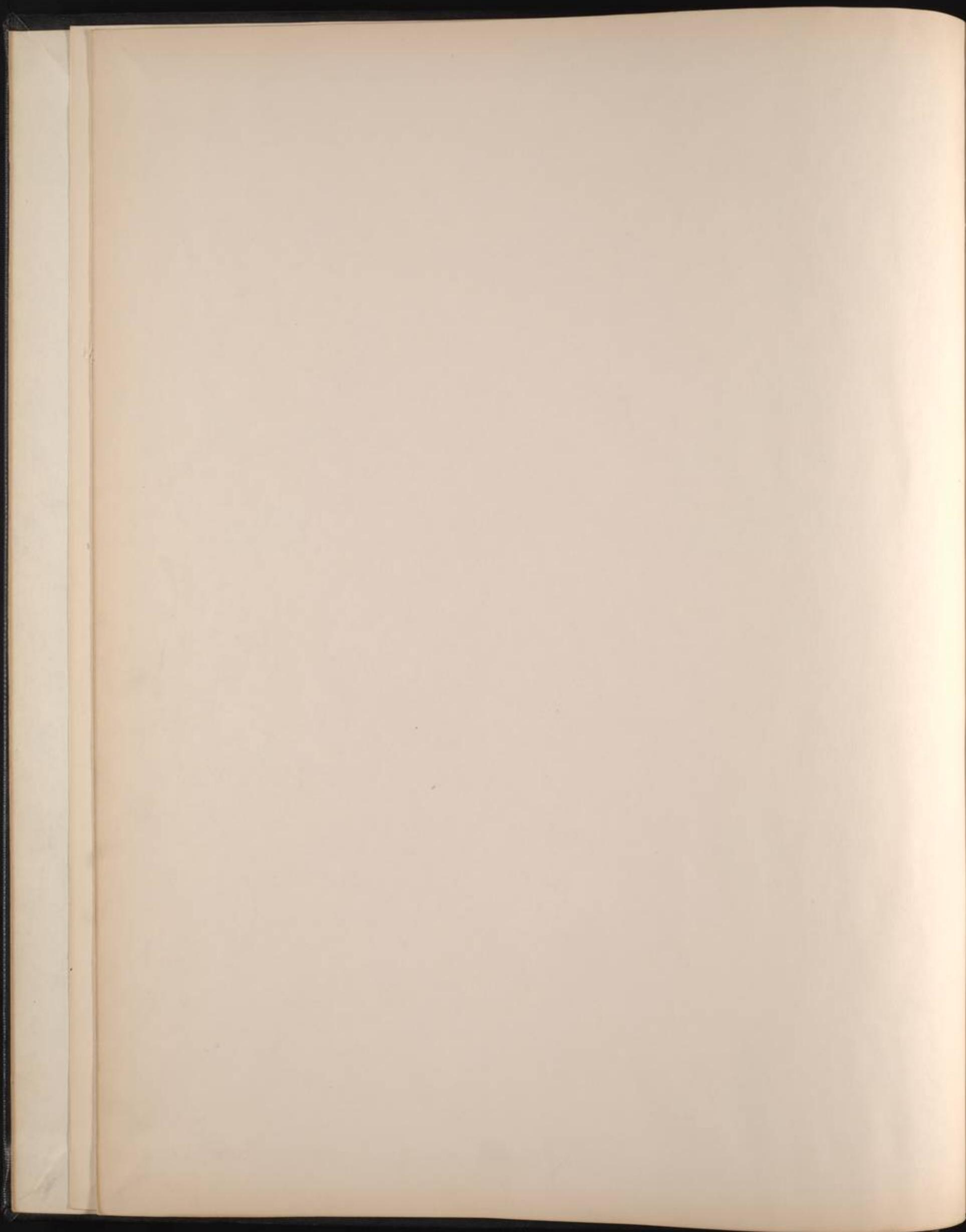
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EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

19th Memoir

THE

TEMPLE OF DEIR EL BAHARI

BY

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PART IV.

PLATES LXXXVII.—CXVIII.

THE SHRINE OF HATHOR AND THE SOUTHERN HALL OF
OFFERINGS

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE

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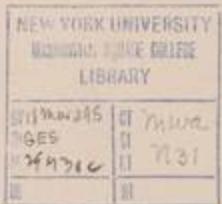
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PREFACE.

In this volume there are no historical inscriptions. All the plates of which it consists represent religious scenes, taken from the Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings.

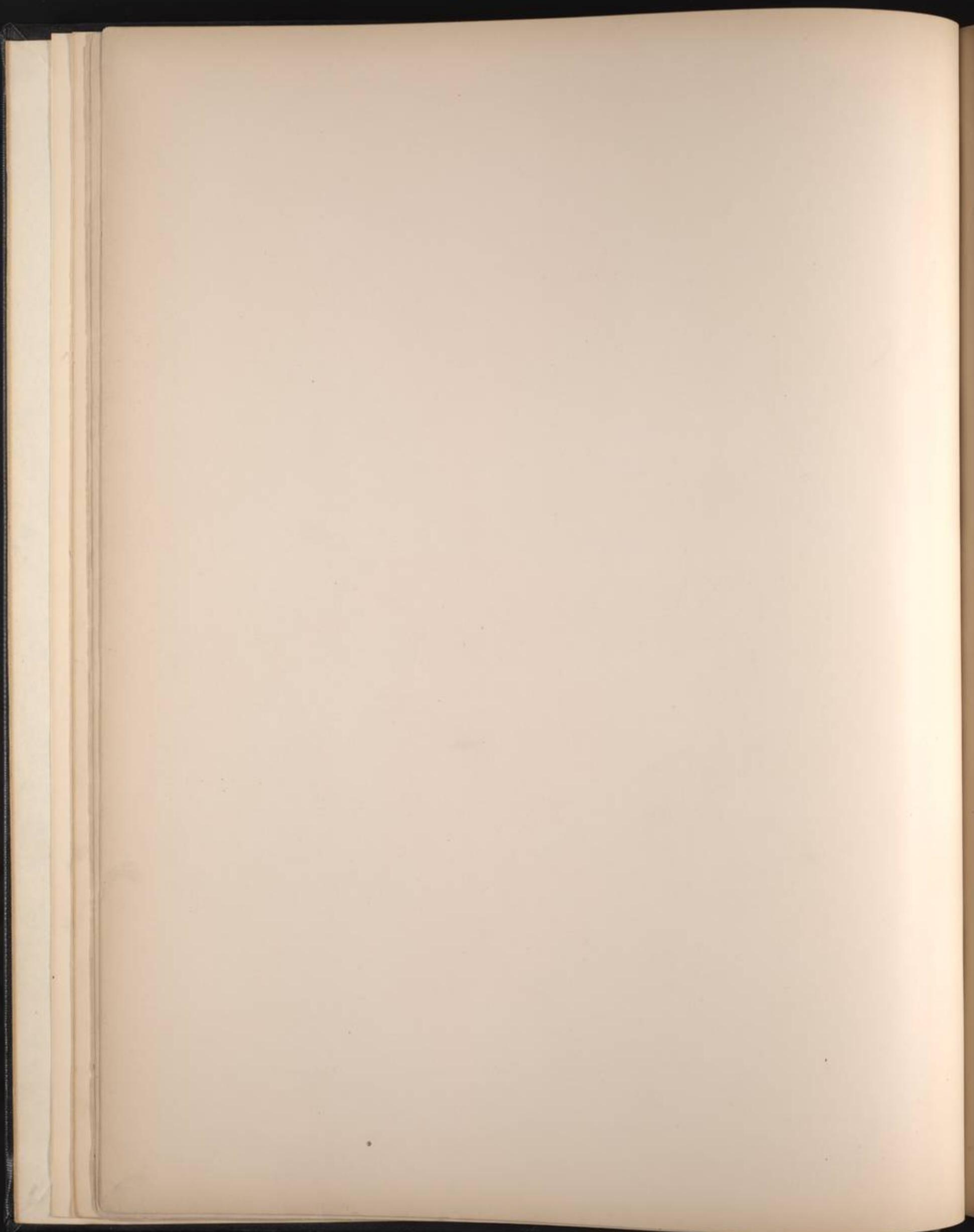
I believe the Shrine of Hathor to have been originally a cave, where, according to tradition, the queen was suckled by the goddess, and where, at the end of her life, she "joined" her divine nurse. This is why, according to Egyptian ideas, she places her own emblems with those of the goddess, thus deifying herself and claiming the same worship.

The Southern Hall of Offerings is the largest of the kind in the temple, since it was specially devoted to the funerary cult of Hatshepsu. As nearly all the hieroglyphic signs met with in the inscriptions of this volume have already been transliterated several times, I have thought it unnecessary to give any transliterations.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

MALAGNY,
June, 1901.







THE
TEMPLE OF DEIR EL BAHARI.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

PLATES LXXXVII.—CVI.

THE SOUTHERN SPEOS OR SHRIE OF HATHOR.

THE access to the Hathor Shrine consists of a Vestibule and a Hypostyle Hall. The Vestibule had four rectangular pillars and round shafted columns without any fluting. Their capitals were Hathor heads, surmounted by a small shrine, giving them the form of a sistrum. This form of capital differs from the style of the XIIth Dynasty, such as is found at Bubastis, where there is no shrine, only a row of uraei on the Hathor heads. At Deir el Bahari the sides of the capitals are ornamented; below, among the hair of the heads, may be seen a plant of papyrus, and above, an object which varies, but which is sometimes a statuette in the form of a mummy. (See pl. lxviii.)

We shall not enter now upon the difficult question of the approach to the Hathor Shrine. It will be treated in the architectural part. For the present it is sufficient to say that there seems to have been direct access to the shrine by means of a staircase, without going through the temple.

Plate LXXXVII.—On the northern wall of the Vestibule there are remains of a scene which we shall find more complete in the Hypostyle Hall. The goddess Hathor, in the form of a cow, licks the hand of a king whose cartouche is now that of Thothmes II. Originally it was the queen, whose name has been erased and replaced by that of her husband, as we shall frequently see in the representations of the Hathor Shrine.

THE HYPOSTYLE HALL.

Plates LXXXVIII.—XCI.—The Hypostyle Hall

had twelve columns, of so-called proto-doric style. Between two of them, in the north-western corner, was an untouched pit, in which we found three coffins of the Saitic epoch, belonging to a priest of Menth, his mother, and his aunt.

Everything in the Vestibule and in the Hypostyle Hall is connected with Hathor, who had her sanctuary on this side of the temple, symmetrical to the Shrine of Anubis. The inscription in the corner of the northern wall records that the "King of Upper and Lower Egypt made her monuments to her mother Hathor, the lady of Thebes." The scene, which covers the greatest part of the wall, has already been published by Duemichen and Mariette. It is the introduction of the goddess into the temple, but it is hardly possible to distinguish between the goddess and the queen. It is clear that this is intentional. Hatshepsu wishes that the honours rendered to Hathor should be rendered also to herself; she desires to rank among the gods, to be venerated as a divinity, and her first worshipper will be her nephew and associate, Thothmes III. That she will even consider herself as above the goddess is evident from the sculptures on both sides of the entrance to the sanctuary, where Hathor comes and licks her hand. Therefore we may as well call this festival the installation of Hatshepsu as goddess of the shrine, as that of Hathor.

The fragmentary state of most of the sculptures makes it difficult to understand the real meaning of the scene, which is divided into three rows of boats,

and a fourth row representing a procession. The upper one is very much damaged. It contains two long barges, with a considerable number of oarsmen, who row standing. On these boats stand large shrines, adorned with draperies. I suppose that in one of the boats were the emblems of the goddess, in the other those of the queen.

The boats of the two lower rows correspond to those which are found in the representation of the obelisks; they are the escort, the numerous suite which performs religious rites. The text at the top gives us the name of the festival; it is that of the "second birth," an expression which Brugsch considers to refer to an astronomical period of four years:—

" . . . the dancers of the royal boats.
"They hail Ramaka, the Horus mighty by her *ka*, they utter words of joy in the sky, and in the land of Sersi.
"Hathor, she reneweth her birth. Thebes is in joy. Ramaka, while endures the sky, thou endurest."

On the top of one of the shrines the *reis* of the boats shouts out: "Pull the oar," and the watchman, who is standing behind "the royal nobles," commands: "To the west."

On the lower row are the boats of what we may call the religious escort; and here, as in the case of the obelisk, the queen is not shown herself: what takes her place is her *ka*, in the form of a fan. Throne and fan are a substitute for the sitting person, or rather for the *ka*, who so often follows king or queen in the religious representations. Here we see clearly the confusion which exists between the goddess and the queen, a confusion which is intentional; for in this ceremony Hatshepsu wishes to be considered as one with Hathor, or rather as being Hathor herself. Above the front boat we find these words: "Hail to Hathor, the protectress of Thebes by the protector, the King Menkheperkara, living eternally." Here Hathor is evidently meant to be the queen, for behind the pavilion which contains the throne bearing the *ka* are these words, uttered by a priest who offers a fowl and a pointed loaf: "A gift to thy (living) *ka*, thou art strengthened, Ramaka, for millions of years." Therefore the *ka* of the first boat is that of the queen.

The middle boat contains an empty pavilion; the oarsmen, who seem to be the only occupants of the barge, sing praises to the queen. The shouting in the boat of the sailors is: "The good lord has erected buildings to her mother Hathor; as she endures, they endure for ever."

The third boat again contains a pavilion with a *ka*. Here it is decidedly the *ka* of the goddess, as we may judge from the inscription: "A gift to thy *ka*, Hathor, queen of the gods, giving life, by the King Ramaka and the King Menkheperra, like Ra, eternally."

The third row is almost an exact repetition of the second, except that in the inscription of the front boat a royal person whose name is erased, but who is probably Hatshepsu, praises Amon instead of Hathor; the first barge carries the *ka* of the queen, the last one the *ka* of the goddess. The reason for the two lower rows being exactly alike is that we must suppose the upper row, that of the large barges, to be in the middle, between two rows quite similar, one on each side.

Under the boats is a subject which we find repeated in other parts of the temple, and which was a favourite one; for not only do we see it several times nearly complete, but the excavations have brought to light many fragments belonging to representations of the same kind. It is a festive procession of soldiers, carrying arms, boughs of trees, and sacred standards. These men are called "the dancers of the royal boats." They must have been a company which went out with the royal barges, to enliven the navigation or the festival by dances and songs. We saw them mentioned in the inscription at the top of the wall; the same procession receives the obelisks when they land at Thebes.

The dancers are not alone; they are accompanied by young soldiers, the pick of the army, who take part in the rejoicing. The inscription reads as follows:

"Rejoicing by the dancers of the royal boats, the young men of Thebes, the choicest soldiers. The whole land is in joy, in the presence of [here words are erased] Amon, the lord of the thrones of the two lands . . . in his festival of the beginning of the year, by the protector, the King Ramaka, the protector, the King Menkheperra, living eternally, when it came to pass that the majesty of this great goddess went and rested in her sacred abode, in Amon Sersi; they are living eternally."

The second soldier carries what seems to be a drum, probably made of terra-cotta with skins at the end. The last soldier leads a tame panther or leopard, which we shall find again in the train of the queen. The procession closes with Africans, "Tamahu," performing war dances with boomerangs in their hands, while their comrades probably beat time with their sticks. It is curious that in other festivals the dancing is done also by these Africans, the Tamahu, as if they had some national propensity to that art, like the Hungarian gipsies in modern times.

Plate XCII.—The emblems of goddess and queen have been deposited in the shrine. We have now the first ceremony accomplished in their honour. It is done by Thothmes III., who has his cartouche Menkheperkara, showing that he is still dependent on his aunt. It is he who appears before the goddess, who in this case has some of her own titles and other ones belonging to Ramaka, so that Thothmes III. may be said to worship his aunt as well as Hathor.

The column in which the ceremony was named is somewhat erased. We have to restore the following *suten bes* "the introduction of the king into the sacred house of Hathor the protectress of Thebes." The king has in his hand an oar, the symbolical meaning of which is not yet fully explained. He is said to *tua neter*, "worship the god"; but this kind of worship, which is generally repeated four times, must have a special meaning. This scene is in the angle of the northern wall of the Hypostyle Hall.

Plates XCIII.—XCVII.—Turning to the western wall, in the middle of which is the entrance to the shrine, we find on both sides of the door scenes that are exactly symmetrical. At the furthest end the queen is making a long stride, and bringing an offering to the goddess. Between this and the door the queen is seen sitting on a throne, and Hathor in the form of a cow comes and licks her hand.

Plate XCIII.—The scene is nearly the same as in the North-western Hall of Offerings. Hathor is standing; she is called: "Hathor the lady of Hermonthis, the lady of heaven and earth, the queen of all the gods." In front of her is the queen, making a long stride, and bringing a mason's square and an oar. The oar is adorned with two eyes and underneath are two disks, which may be considered as meaning sun and moon. The promises made to the queen are those we have already met with many times.

Plate XCVII.—Generally the scene symmetrical to the offering of the oar consists of the gift of two vases of libations. Here we have a variant which occurs in other places. The queen presents the goddess with a live bird, a kind of crane or heron, called sometimes *amt*. In the other hand she holds three sceptres, the top of which we do not see, but which we know from another instance, in the time of Thothmes III., to end with on which stand

different birds. We have here an instance of the obscure symbolism of Egyptian rites, to which we have not yet found the key. It is curious to note that in later times, in the Temple of Dendereh, we find two symmetrical scenes of the offering of bird and sceptres, and in another place, on both sides also, the oar and the flail instead of the square. In this last case the legend is *tet hept* "taking the *hept*," *hept* being the square as well as the oar.

Plate XCIV. and XCVI.—The queen is seen seated in a pavilion with lotus-bud columns. She holds the in one of her hands, and she stretches forth the other towards a cow, the goddess Hathor herself, who licks her hand. What the cow is doing is called: "to kiss (lit. to smell) the hand, to lick the divine flesh: to endow the king with life and purity (or happiness)." Behind the cow is a male figure erased in both scenes, who on the right is called Tenhepu and on the left is Anubis. The cow speaks in the following way to the queen:

"Said by Hathor, the lady of Hermonthis, the lady of heaven, the queen of the gods, who resides in Serui; my daughter, the beloved Ramaka, I have come, I rejoice in my love to thee; I rest in this building, the fine abode which thou hast made for me. I have come from Pe, I have marched through Tep, I have wandered through the northern marshland, where I stopped at Khebt protecting my Horus (child). I have given thee the scent of Punt; thy perfume is sweet to the gods; my daughter of my bowels, Ramaka, my Horus (child) of gold. I am thy mother with a sweet milk. I have suckled thy Majesty with my breasts; they impart to thee life and happiness. I kiss thy hand, I lick thy flesh with my gentle tongue coming out of my mouth. Thou art born and renewed every day, on the arms of thy father Amun, who grants that all the lands may be under thy feet. Said by Tenhepu the bull..... I have come, I protect my daughter, my beloved whom I have begotten, the king Ramaka. I have granted thee the marshes and their cattle. I have increased ... thy cows. I have begotten the sacred cow living eternally."

It is probable that the erased divinity, called Tenhepu, behind the cow, had a bull's head.

As far as we can judge from the very fragmentary state of the inscription in the Vestibule (pl. lxxxvii.), the words uttered by the cow in that first representation were very similar to those which we have translated here.

Plate XCVI.—In the symmetrical scene, the figures are exactly the same. The queen, changed into Thothmes II., is seated in the same pavilion; her *ka* is behind her. It is easily discernible here that in the original sculpture the queen was protected by her real

ka, a human figure which we meet with repeatedly. This *ka* was erased as well as the queen; but when Rameses restored the building, and changed the name of Ramaka into that of Thothmes II., the *ka* was replaced by its emblem, the fan.

The words are not quite the same as on the other side. The titles of Hathor have been only partially restored.

"Said by Hathor, the protectress of Thebes, the divine cow, the divine mother, the lady of the sky, the queen of the gods, who looks at her Horus (child), who licks the Horus she brought forth. I have come to thee, my daughter, my beloved king Ramaka (Thothmes II.). I kiss thy hand, I lick thy flesh, I fill thy Majesty with life and happiness, as I have done to my Horus in the nest of Khebt. I have suckled thy Majesty with my breasts. I have filled thee with my intelligence, with my water of life and happiness. I am thy mother, who formed thy limbs and created thy beauties. I have come, I am thy protector, thy mouth is replete with my milk, life and stability is in it, intelligence is in it, abundance is in it. All evil is removed from thee, according to the command of thy father Ra, and Amon, the lord of the thrones of the two lands, living eternally.

"Said by Anubis, who shows the ways in the land of the heifers: I have come to thee, daughter of Ra, I embrace ... and her *ka*, on the throne of Horus of the living."

Hathor calls herself the mother, and the nurse of the queen. She is the , the sacred cow, the Isis whose son is Horus; and just as she suckled Horus in his abode of reeds, in the marshes of Khebt, she has done the same for Ramaka in this shrine which has been built for her. The Hathor Shrine is the place where the queen was supposed to have been suckled by her divine nurse.

Plate XCV.—THE DOORWAY TO THE SHRINE. On the top were two lines containing twice over the touches of the queen. On the doorpost the queen appears on one side, and her nephew, her subordinate, Menkheperkara, on the other. The entrance is called "the door of Ramaka, by which are brought victuals to the house of Hathor."

THE ANTE-ROOM.

Passing through the door, we reach an Ante-room supported by two proto-doric columns. Everywhere the painting seems to have been re-touched in a coarse and careless way. It is only here and there that we get original work: for instance, in the niche in the southern wall.

Plates XCIX. and XCIX.—We saw before that

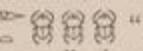
these niches were the equivalent of the *serdab* in the tombs of the Old Empire. They contained statues of the deceased; they were supposed to be abodes of his *ka*, which fed on all the offerings represented on the walls. It is probable also that statues of gods were combined with those of the deceased. Here we have the end wall bearing two scenes of worship to the gods (pl. xcix.). On the right the queen before Amon; on the left Thothmes III. before Hathor. It is said of the queen that she is born  "on the throne of Tum." On the western wall, the queen, who is erased, offers a huge pile of victuals to a seated god, a special form of Horus. He is called "Samtaui, the son of Hathor, the protector of Hermonthis, who resides at Serui." He makes the usual promises of a great number of Sed periods and the like.

Plate C.—EASTERN WALL OF THE ANTE-ROOM. Here we have a rare representation, a symbolical ceremony the sense of which is not easy to understand. It is a game of ball. Thothmes III., Menkheperkara, holds a stick of wavy form, which from other texts we know to be made of olive wood, and strikes with it balls, the substance of which we do not know. The ceremony is called: "to strike the ball to (in honour of) Hathor the protectress of Thebes." Brugsch quotes an instance from Edfoo, in which it is said that the king strikes a ball in honour of his mother. It seems from the text which accompanies the ceremony at Dendereh, that the throwing of balls was a kind of emblem of victory, "the enemies are struck before them." There must have been several of them, since we see that the prophet's hand them to Thothmes III., or perhaps make the catches.

Menkheperkara appears with his usual titles, to which is added that he shines as king in the boat of millions (of years), and as master of the throne of Tum. Here, as in other cases, though the inscription is made for Thothmes III., the feminine pronoun comes in through an oversight of the engravers, especially in the words of the goddess.

"Said by Hathor, the protectress of Thebes, son (daughter) who loves me, my favourite, king of the two lands, Menkheperkara; it is good this land; thou receivest the white crown, thou possessest the red crown which is on thy head, thou liftest the double diadem, and thou shinest through it, living eternally."

Plate CI.—Here again we have a coronation ceremony which takes place before Amon, the goddess *Urtheku*,

and an assembly of gods who witness the act. The queen, whose cartouches have been replaced by those of Thothmes II., stood between the sitting god and the standing goddess, perhaps at the feet of Amon, or even on his knees; but she has disappeared entirely.

The assembly of the gods is more numerous than that to which Amon announced the birth of Hatshepsu (pl. xlvi.). There are sixteen of them here; they are all sitting, holding the . Beginning at the top, we have Nephthys, Horus, Hathor, Sebek, and two together, Tanen and Ani, a lunar god. In the second row, Keb, Nut, Osiris, Isis and Set; in the lowest row, the consort of Amon, Amonit, who resides at Thebes, Menthu, Tum of Heliopolis, Shu and Tefnut. The lion-headed goddess Urtheku probably put a crown on the queen's head; it must have been in the original drawing, judging from these words:

"Said by Urtheku: daughter of my bowels, beloved; forthwith thy crown shall be on thy head, as ordered by thy father Amon. I have suckled thee on his throne, to be a king lasting eternally."

The god Amon also takes part in the coronation. He calls on the gods of the assembly:

"Said by Amon, the lord of the thrones of the two lands, the king of the gods, who resides at Thebes, who put her on the throne of Ra, which will be afterwards the inheritance of the daughter of his loins, the beloved: her crown is well established as king of Upper and Lower Egypt on her throne, in presence of the living, in her royal power over the South and the North. Now give her all the life, stability, and happiness which is in you, and all joy; for she rules over the two lands like Ra eternally."

The gods answer:

"We will give her all the happiness which is within us, all the joy which is within us, all the stability which is within us."

Below the assembly of the gods is a doorway, the entrance to a niche. The inscriptions contained nothing but the names and titles of the queen, which have been changed into those of Thothmes II.

Plate CII.—On the left side of the door, the queen stood before Hathor, and offered her a vase, the nature and contents of which it is not possible to ascertain, owing to the destruction of the figure of the queen.

Plate CIII.—This is the entrance to the two rooms which contained the sacred emblems of the goddess and the queen. The ornamentation of the door is very peculiar. It represents an arched roof supported by pillars. These pillars have the usual form of a sistrum;

their capital is the head of Hathor, the human head with a heifer's ears. But what is most extraordinary, is that below the capital there are on the shafts of the pillars two dots, which must be considered as two eyes, and one horn of a cow; the left horn on one side of the door, the right on the other. The vertical lines relate that the queen made these buildings to her mother Hathor. They are identical on both sides. In the horizontal lines, on the left we find the names and titles of the queen changed into those of Thothmes II.; on the right, those of Thothmes III. The doorway is called "the door of Ramaka (Thothmes II.) joining the beauties (the person) of Hathor, the protectress of Thebes." This name  *Khaumtneferu*, "joining the beauties of . . ." occurs in newly discovered texts at Karnak, and refers to a pavilion where there is a sacred boat containing the emblems of Amon and Hatshepsu. It indicates that in this room the emblems of two persons were combined.

THE OUTER SANCTUARY.

Plate CIV.—On a sacred boat, which was probably carried out of the temple on certain festivals, is seen a pavilion under which stands the cow. Under the head is the queen, erased, with the appearance of a grown-up man, and wearing the insignia of royal power. The queen appears again as a little boy suckled by the cow. Thus the two persons, goddess and queen, are joined. They both rest  in the pavilion called  *perur*. When the queen, accompanied by the divine boy priest  *Ahi*, son of Hathor, brings wine to the goddess, besides a quantity of fruit, vegetables, and meat, she makes this offering to herself as well as to Hathor. The promises of Hathor, "the divine mother, the mistress of the sky, the queen of the gods," are of the usual kind, a reward for the fine buildings raised by Hatshepsu. Behind the cow are various figures difficult to explain: a crouching Horus, generally called Sopt; behind him two apes of the kind called  *beut*; underneath a lion  *askhekh* and a monkey standing before a mirror. This monkey has the same name  *df*, as the sun represented in the Tombs of the Kings as a man with a ram's head, going through the various hours of the night. On the third row are two *la*, one without a name, which is evidently that of the queen, and that of Thothmes III. All these figures promise to the queen life, happiness, health, stability.

THE INNER SANCTUARY.

Plate CV.—Here the Hathor cow seems to have been fixed on a stone base. Under her head is Amon, and again she suckles the little boy who is distinctly said to be the queen. "Hathor of the sacred cows" speaks thus to the queen:

"My daughter beloved, Ramaka, I am thy mother, creator of thy person. I have suckled thee to have the rights of Horus, the royal power of South and North. I will give thee years eternal."

The queen, kneeling, offers to the goddess two vases of milk, and behind her Thothmes III. brings wine.

Under the queen opens a small niche, which I presume contained part of the sacred furniture of the sanctuary.

Plate CVI.—Hatshepsu, with the double crown,

stands between Amon and Hathor. The god says to her: "I will give thee millions of years shining in the place of Hathor of all the living, joyous like Ra, eternally." And Hathor is quite as generous: "I shall henceforth protect thee: all life and happiness, all health will be granted to the daughter of my loins, Ramaka, according to the command of her father Ra."

I believe that these two sanctuaries cut in the rock, which originally may have been a cave, were considered as the place where Hathor was supposed to have suckled Hatshepsu. They corresponded to the "nest of Khebt," where the goddess had done the same to Horus. Afterwards, the grateful daughter enlarged the cave, added colonnades, adorned it with sculptures, and made the beautiful shrine which is part of her temple.

PLATES CVII.—CXVIII.

THE SOUTHERN HALL OF OFFERINGS.

ONE of the most extensive halls of the temple, which more than any other marks the funerary character of the whole building, is on the upper platform, on the southern side, where it occupies a space symmetrical to the altar court. This hall had been already excavated by Mariette, and Duemichen has published part of the sculptures.

It is probable that it was used by the Coptic monks as one of the chief chapels of their convent; the altar seems to have been placed in a kind of recess, cut out of the wall on the northern side; and as the place was considered particularly holy, the vestibule giving access to it was chosen by the monks as a burial place. In the corners of this vestibule were some rectangular constructions in crude brick, which at first sight looked like beds or seats. They were graves; each of them contained several Coptic mummies, without ornament or painting, some of which had to be reburied at once. They generally had a leather apron and a leather belt on the body.

In order to hide the sculptures, the Copts covered part of the walls with white plaster; and they rubbed off so completely the inscription of the grand stele at the end of the hall, that not one sign of it is visible.

Part of the ceiling has been preserved. As in most of

the other rooms, it is constructed on the principle of the false arch, horizontal stones overlapping each other, and projecting towards the middle until they meet; after which the angles are hewn away, so as to give a curve to the ceiling. In this case the arch is not pointed, as in some of the smaller rooms; it is rounded like a regular arch.

This hall was above all others considered as the Hall of Offerings to the queen, in which the funerary rites were performed, such as we see them in the tombs of nearly all epochs, in a more or less abridged form. Here we have all the animals, vegetables, incense, garments brought to the deceased in an abundance proportioned to her high rank. The religious texts which accompany them are most archaic; they are already found in the Pyramids, where they are also connected with the offerings and with a long list engraved on both sides of Hatshepsu's Hall. A stele of the XIIth Dynasty gives a title to these texts: they are called the chapter "of providing abundantly for the table."

The two long sides of the hall are nearly similar. Texts and lists are absolutely the same; slight differences exist only in the number of priests and in the objects they carry. The southern wall was more complete in one respect. It had the *Anmutef*, the priest who

was supposed to consecrate the offerings to the queen. This part of the representation has been entirely rubbed off. This might indicate that the queen was considered as being her own Ammutef, her own priest making offerings to herself, as we see in the niches of the central court.

At the other end Hatshepsu is seated on her throne; she extends one hand towards a table on which all the offerings are supposed to be, and with the other she holds a flail. Behind her is her *ka*, a human being holding a sceptre with a human head. The *ka* has been erased here as in the Hypostyle Hall (pl. xciv.); in many other cases it has been preserved. Under the throne is the sign , round which the two Nile gods of the North and the South fasten the two plants, the symbols of the two halves of the country. Under the stalks of the plants we see plovers having two human arms raised, and crouching on the  basket. Behind them are these words                   <img alt="Hieroglyph of a bird with a long beak." data-bbox="

out of which live the gods, to the queen H.; as she is pleased with them, her *ka* is pleased for ever."

After the *Kherheb*, came five  *semers* carrying each a live waterfowl. Behind them walks a scribe who carries three live ducks, three stalks of papyrus, and some seed, probably for feeding the waterfowl. They are followed by various priests, among whom there seems to be no hierarchy, or precedence; the same occurs at various places, sometimes with the same offerings, sometimes carrying another gift. The proportions of the objects are not always observed; for instance, the three first vases are small alabaster pots containing scents or an odoriferous oil called  *set heb*. In several tombs we see a man holding one of these vases to his nose as a scent bottle; here, however, they are represented more than two feet high. All these six kinds of vases, which contained ointments or odoriferous oils, are of the same size, although there is no doubt that they varied considerably.

After the vases, we have two bags of colour, for painting the eyes, then two shawls or scarfs, followed by two kinds of boxes marked  *. Brugsch* considers them as carpets or rugs made of coarser material. Next come    "textures in great number." *Brugsch* thinks that in this group  the number of  indicates with how many filaments each thread has been twisted. It is certain that the number varies; but if we take *Brugsch*'s view, in this great number of tissues, the thread with five filaments should alone be used, except the two rugs, which would have a hundred.

The two upper rows are a mixture of all kinds of offerings: various pieces of meat, haunches, ribs; birds, especially waterfowl, alive or dressed for food, besides all the vegetables, which were very abundant in Egypt. It is curious that on the southern side there is not one live quadruped, except a small gazelle carried on the shoulders of a priest, who is said to be overseer of  the "mountainous region." Cakes and loaves of the most various shapes and consistence, each of which had its special name, are found here in great number, as well as vases containing liquids, the catalogue of which is given in the list accompanying the representation.

The birds are mostly waterfowl, geese and ducks, also a few pigeons; their eggs are also presented to the deceased, and the young ones in their nest. A big crane or heron occurs several times; it seems to have been a favourite bird, probably because of its fine

plumage; it always has its bill tied to its neck, in order to prevent its flying away.

Egypt was from the beginning famous for its vegetables. We read in Scripture of the murmurs of the Israelites, complaining that they remember "the cucumbers and the melons, the leeks and the onions and the garlick," which they ate freely in the land. Most of these vegetables are seen in the tombs or the temples. We notice the great number of bundles of onions or leeks, and also many cucumbers and lettuces. The fruits are chiefly pomegranates and figs; the flowers, the blue and the white lotus. Sometimes it is tied in bundles. The stalk of the lotus is very pliant, and may be knotted or twined; while that of papyrus is rigid, and is always represented as such. The lotus was brought for its pleasant scent, and also for ornament, like the papyrus.

The vases contained all sorts of drinks, wine, beer, milk, honey, perhaps also soft cheese, besides a great number of oils and ointments.

Plate CXL.—CXIL.—If we look at the other side of the same hall, on the north, we find that the procession of priests and the offerings differ very little from what is seen on the southern side; except that we find three kinds of antelope, the same which are sacrificed at the entrance on both sides of the hall, and a young bull.

Plate CIX. to CXIII.—Above the beginning of the procession is a long religious text, the origin of which is very ancient, for it is already found in the Pyramids. One of these monuments, that of Unas, has it complete. There, as here, it is connected with the offerings. Four other Pyramids, those of Teti, Pepi I., Merenra, and Pepi II., contain the greatest part of it; as also does a stele of the XIIth Dynasty found at Abydos, and belonging to a man called Nehi. The presence of this text in this place is a proof of the desire which Hatshepsu shows in many ways, of going back as far as possible in her customs and her language. She was evidently fond of the archaic.

This text has been incorporated afterwards into a chapter of the Book of the Dead, which bears No. 178, with this title: "The chapter of raising the body, of giving it eyes, of making it possess ears, of fixing its head, of putting it on its base." This chapter has disappeared from the later versions of the Book of the Dead. Two translations have been made of this text,

one by M. Maspero, who discovered most of the inscriptions of the Pyramids, and who gave a complete interpretation of them parallel to the publication of the text; and one by Dr. Budge in his translation of the Book of the Dead. Mine will be found to differ in many points from these learned scholars. The Pyramid texts are the most difficult to interpret in Egyptian literature. Not only are they the most archaic, but they are full of allusions to myths and customs we do not understand. The language is so conventional and symbolical; we are so ignorant of the way how the Egyptians rendered abstract ideas, of the metaphors which they used, that any translation of the Pyramid texts can be regarded only as provisional, as an attempt which the authors themselves are sure to modify after a time. It is in this light that the present one is submitted.

"Rejoice Hunnu, lift up thy heart to purify thy body. They have eaten the eye of Horus, the olive which is in On, for the small finger of H.¹ has expelled what was in the body of Osiris. H. will never thirst, she will never hunger; she will never feel nausea, the deliverer Khas does away with hunger. O, you who fill, O, you who fill the vases, you chiefs who have charge of the water flood, he has commanded for H. bread and beer (of Amon Ra²); he who commanded is Ra himself. Ra has commanded them to those who fill this year with plenty, they seize them (the gifts), and give them to her; they take them in their hand, and they give her wheat and barley, cakes and beer, for she is the great bull who smites Nubia. H. has charge of the five loaves which are in the funerary chapel. There are three in heaven for Ra, there are two upon earth for the cycle of the gods. If one is uncovered the other is uncovered; if one is seen, the other is seen. O, Ra, be gracious to H. in this day, after yesterday . . . They give loaves to H.; they make a festival to her in this day, (they give her) the things of Tum, the things coming from the eye of Ra, the things of the boat which arrives from the eye of the divine steersman; the offering of boiling water, of the flame, of the leg on the altar of Sashert, four measures (?) of water. H. is rich, for Shu has not taken her wealth. Shu is rich, for H. has not taken his wealth. The tributes of the East are doubled; they are thy bread. Awake, lofty judge (Thoth). Awake, you lying down; arise, you who are in Kensit, ancestors of the great trembler, who comes forth from the Nile, and of Apuat, who comes forth from Asert. The mouth of H. is pure; the cycle of the nine gods brings incense to H. Her mouth is pure, and this tongue which is in her mouth, for H. hates filth; H. is washed from impurity; she does not eat it, for she loathes it as Set when he is washed in presence of the Rehni who sail through heaven, and walk with the god on his stand (Thoth). Feed H. with you, for she eats from what you

eat, she drinks from what you drink, she sits when you sit. She is mighty of your might, she navigates as you navigate, the tent of H. is woven of Aalu reed, her running water is in the field of rest. Offerings are made to her among you gods; the libations to H. are of wine, as to Ra. H. goes round the sky like Ra, she travels over the sky like Thoth. H. hates hunger, she does not eat (taste) it. H. hates thirst, she does not drink (taste) it. She is H., for when was provided her bread by the everlasting one, and the goddess Uaz gave her life, then was born H. H. was conceived in the night, she was born in the morning, and now she is among the followers of Ra, the ancestors of the morning star."

Above this text is the list of offerings. We have already found several of those lists in the niches of the temple, but they were not so long. This is the complete one, which likewise goes back to a very early date, for it is found exactly the same in the Pyramid texts, and in a considerable number of tombs of the Old Empire. In the tombs of the Saïte epoch it is copied word for word. The offerings are divided into various groups. They begin with the scents, odoriferous oils and incense, then follow all the loaves and cakes, then four water-fowls and a pigeon. Then come the drinks, among which there are always five kinds of wine, wines of the north, white wine, wine of Amt (Nebesheh) wine of Him, and wine of Sun; these two last cities must be looked for in the Delta, according to Brugsch. The list ends with various sorts of grain and fruit.

On the top of the list comes again a religious text of the same kind as the one we had before, the interpretation of which is even more difficult. The omissions, produced perhaps by the fact that the engraver did not accurately measure the space, are so numerous that it is hardly possible to make sense out of several of the lines, until we have a duplicate from another monument, for the two copies in the hall are nearly exactly alike. Here are a few of the sentences:—

"He is great, he who comes out of the earth, the brother of Nu coming out of Nut; the great power born of Keb, who holds back Set in his storms; when he darts forth on the mountains they flee . . . the cycle of the gods knows his name, Retem . . . Horus brings them to thee in this year; he brings the sky with clouds, the earth with fog, the cool place (?) of (?) is hidden, the god with the lock, the son of Nut is not found . . . thy right eye is in the Semket boat, thy left is in the At boat, these thy eyes of Horus coming forth from Tum are Shu and Tefnut, the divine shadow is with them, his venom will not reach the . . . (?) of the At boat, for these thy eyes of Horus they bring the Semket boat, they bring the At boat to Horus of Manuu the blind . . . is weeping. The dwarf sees the orders of Horus of Manuu. They do not move, they do not tremble under the fingers of Horus of Manuu."

¹ In order to avoid unnecessary repetitions here, and in the following translations, the cartouches of Hatshepsu and her titles are indicated by H.

² Restored words out of place.

END WALL.

The most important representation in all sanctuaries is the end one, on which is always found the central part of the subject. In the Southern Hall of Offerings on the end wall was a large granite stela which is still *in situ*, but entirely erased. Over it, in the area surrounded by the arch of the ceiling, is sculptured the moment in which Hatshepsu joined the god Tum. As the death of the kings is compared to the setting of the sun, they are often supposed to die at sunset, and here we see that Hatshepsu appears in the boat of Tum in the instant between the end of the day and the beginning of the night; the last hour of the day is behind her, and the first hour of the night in front.

Plate CXV. (Middle).—Hatshepsu stands in a boat floating on the celestial waters; behind her is Nephthys; the queen steps towards Tum and the goddess Maat. All the figures have suffered grievously from the erasures of the Ramessides and of the Copts. Little remains of the words of Tum, who evidently told Hatshepsu that he gave the breath of life to her nostrils; or of the speech of Maat. Behind the queen is the goddess Nephthys, "the lady of the gods," who speaks thus:

"I have come verily as Hathor in the presence of thy father, the lord of gods, Tum, the bull of the cycle of the gods, to be thy protector and to infuse life into thy limbs. Thou settest on the horizon near Ra, living, renewed, restored to youth, in the following of the great god, the lord of the sky."

CEILING.

The central representation of the boat is connected with the long sides of the arch. On the left is found the end, the last hour of day; on the right the beginning, the first hour of night. The arrangement is not quite the same as in the long walls. On the south wall, where the hours of days are represented (pl. cxiv.), each hour is a woman wearing a solar disk; in front of her is the king with a star on his head, who is supposed to be the special god of the hour before whom he stands, and who addresses the sun in favour of the queen, that is, of himself, for king or queen always mean the same person, and the mixed feminine and masculine pronouns all refer to Hatshepsu. On the right (pl. cxvi.) it is different: the hour is a woman wearing a star; the king, the god of the hour, is also in front of her with raised arms, but in the night it is the hour who makes a speech to the sun, and requests his favours for the

queen. On the end wall the space did not allow the same arrangement. On both sides of the boat, the hour is seen standing and turning her back to the boat, while the king-god is kneeling and has no star on his head.

Plate CXIV.—We have to begin with the hours of the day. The first seven are destroyed and very little remains of the eighth; we do not see her name or that of the god, and only fragments of the speech of the god who mentions the *At* boat and the  who is the next hour. He asks that H. may be protected, and may be victorious over her enemies.

The ninth hour of the day, "Neht *ankh* . . . *arāt taui* is her name." The name of the god before whom she stands is destroyed. These are his words:

"O shining, O bright one, thou who comest forth from his egg, lord of the diadems . . . thou sailst to the islands of the fields of Aalu . . . the . . . who rejoice over their oars . . . thou goest down on the river, thou sailst through the two parts of the sky; . . . thou goest through the two parts of the sky and Ra is pleased; thou art raised above the Thehenu; thy enemies thou drivest them away; the king has smitten . . . thy beauties as thou killed thy enemies, thou killst the enemies of King H. in all the places where they are; grant that she may inhale the pleasant breath of the north. Let her follow the Ma gods who are in thy train."

"The tenth hour of the day, *Sekelkh hepu* (she who refreshes her oars) is her name, she stands before *Heku*. Said: Hail to thee with thy golden stars, over whom rejoice those who are in the Semket boat, hail to thy *uraei* . . . tributes come to thee from heaven and earth; thou burnest thy enemies with the great flame which comes out of their mouth. O thou high one, Ra, the head of all the powers, thou utterest words to thy followers, thou drivest back those who are in the stormy sky. When thou sailst up, praises are given thee; when thou sailst down, thou art worshipped, thou doublest the power of Ma; thou hast been praised by King H., she has made offerings to thy divine serpent; grant that . . . give her abundance every day, that her heart may be pleased in the field of the cranes, that she may drink in the stream of the river, with the followers of the blessed gods, that she may go forth and back with Ra, that she may be addressed with those in his presence."

"The eleventh hour of the day, *Nefert* (the beautiful) is her name. She stands before *Ma neamu hu* . . . Hail . . . the cycle of the gods of Ra who walk with his great boat, who haul it in peace at his appointed time, when they bring the ropes and the navigation takes place . . ."

The following lines are very much destroyed: "Fill the king with life that she may be justified before Tum."

Plate CXV. (Left Side).—The twelfth hour is on the end wall.

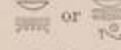
"The twelfth hour of the day: *Khunum *ankh** (she who is filled with life) is her name; she stands before *Rejet sa en akhukhu*

(he who gives his protection in the twilight). Hail to thee Ra; thou settest in the holy horizon of the west, thou settest in thy fields in Mannu; thy divine serpents are behind thee. Hail to thee in peace, thou hast joined the Eye of Tum thee in its circle, it leads thee to the land of life; it sends its protection behind thy limbs. O you gods of the west, who rejoice as Tum his presence that he may rest; take your arms, drive away the god with the lock, strike the enemies the ropes in the Sektet boat; they come in joy and in peace the land of is bowing down, they bring offerings in the west, thou restest on thy seat, thou restest on thy throne of the west; thou provest the words of the inhabitants of the lower world, thou doest thy will in the Ament; great is thy judgment and sound. The Mannu the gods with locks, in thy presence loud praises from those in the Sektet boat. Enrich King do that she may live and have abundance in thy following, Ra."

Plate CXV. (Right Side).—On the right side of the boat we find the first hour of the night, and the others follow on the long wall. Here the words are put into the mouth of the hour and not of the king-god. The names of these hours are not those which we find in other lists. Unfortunately they have been but imperfectly preserved. The words put in the mouth of the hour before whom the king kneels are two chapters of the Book of the Dead: the 22nd, called "the chapter of giving a mouth to the deceased," and the 59th, "the chapter of breathing air and receiving water in the underworld."

"Said by the first hour of the night *en uskht* (in the great hall) is her name. She stands before Ra. King H. rises from Nubt, which is in the unseen world. A mouth is given to her (with words in it, in the presence of) the cycle of the gods. The hands of H. will not be repulsed by She is Osiris of Roset, he who is on the staircase. The king comes out (of the tank of fire) its flame is extinguished when the king comes out. Hail Tum, give sweet breath to the nostrils of the king, (she embraces) the great throne which is at Hermopolis. The king watches over the egg of the great cackler; its growth is the growth of the king, its life is the life of the king, its breath is the breath of the king. H. is justified before all the gods."

Plate CXVI.—The words uttered by the following hours are also taken from the Book of the Dead. They are parts of the 71st and 42nd chapters, combined together; from this last chapter are taken a few

sentences which deify the body of the deceased and make a god of each part of it. The queen has the form of a man, a star on his head, with his hands raised; the name erased has been restored in paint as  or  or otherwise.

"Said by the second hour of the night, she who takes the rope of the prow and fixes the rope of the stern is her name; she stands before Ra. The king is the plant in Amaaref, the flower of (the hidden) abode. Here is Osiris. Osiris! strengthen king H. as thou strengthenest thyself; set the king loose, release him, let her be brought on the earth, let what she wishes from the god of one face be done to the king; for her hair is Nu, her face is Ra, her eyes are Hathor, her ears are (Apuit), her nose is Khentikhas, her lips are Anubis, her teeth are Selk, her neck is Ista, her hands are the spirit of the lord of Tattu, her arms are Neith, the lady of Sais."

"Said by the third hour of the night of the big hall in her horizon, is her name; she stands before King H. is a hawk in the southern sky and an ibis in the northern sky; he has appeased the burning serpent when raging, by bringing truth to him who loves her. Here is Thoth; Thoth, strengthen the king as thou strengthenest thyself, set the king loose, release him, let him be brought on the earth, let what the king wishes from the god with one face be done to her, for the back of the king is Set, her is Osiris, her liver is the lords of Kheraha, her chest is the Mighty who inspires fear, her is Sekhmit, there is no limb in the king without a god.

"Said by the fourth hour of the night, she who hides the shadow in On is her name, she stands before Ran. O hawk, who riseth from Nu, the lord of Melhart; strengthen the king as thou strengthenest thyself, set the king loose, release the king, let him be brought on earth, let what she wishes from the god with one face be done to her. King H. is a hawk who speaks from the window, the king rises without veil. Here is Hors-i-isis. Hors-i-isis, let loose the king, let her be brought on earth, let what the king wishes from the god with one face be done to her the king is sound on earth (?) near Ra . . . good near Osiris; do not make your sacrifice of her (and do not put her) on their altars. The king is in the following of the lord of all things."

Nothing but a few words remain of the fifth hour, and the following ones are quite destroyed.

Plates CXVII. and CXVIII.—These coloured plates are specimens of the sculptures in the Southern Hall of Offerings. A priest is bringing the crane or heron already described, which is also represented with its bill tied to its neck and marching towards the queen.

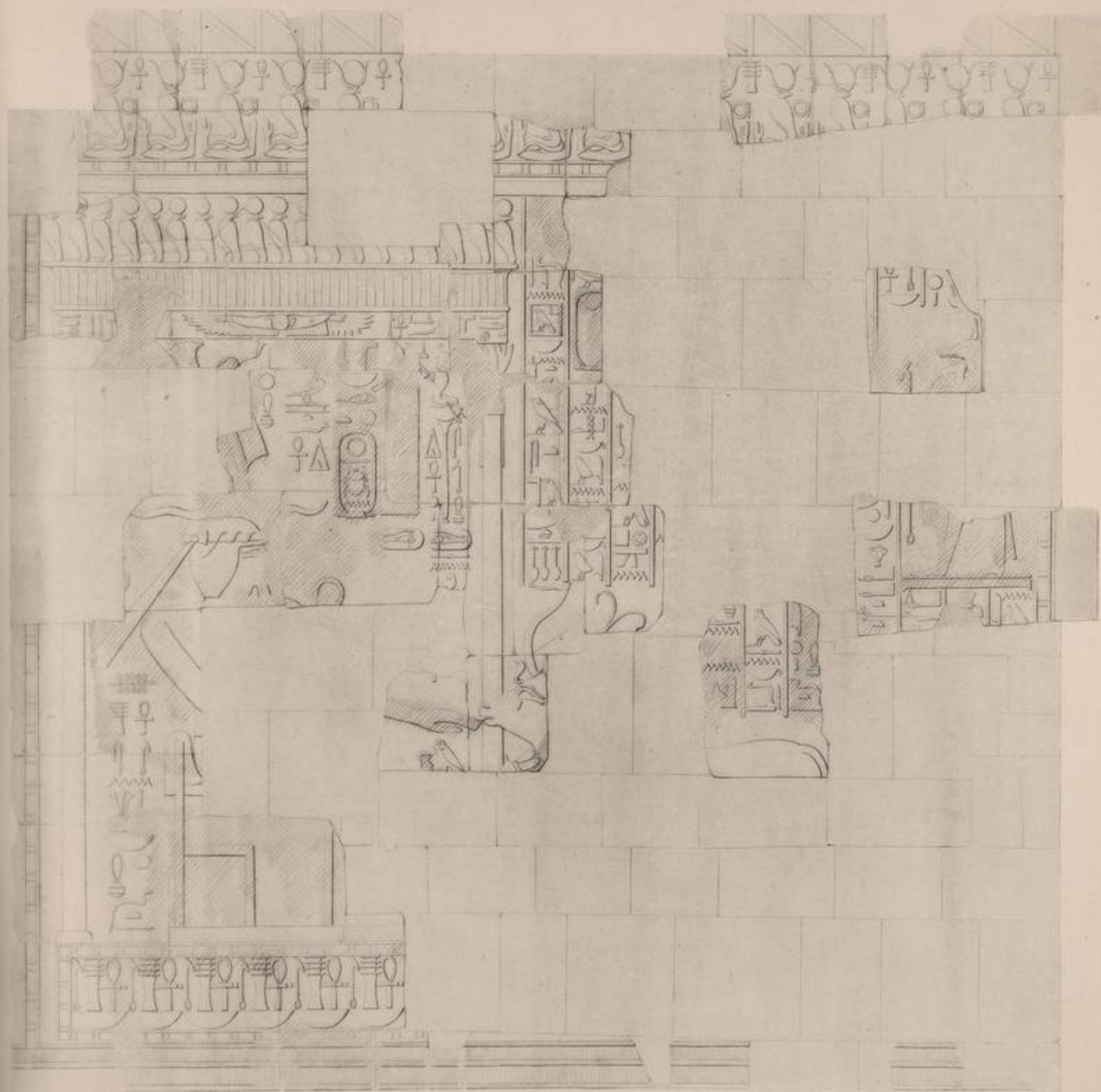


PLATES.

ERRATUM.

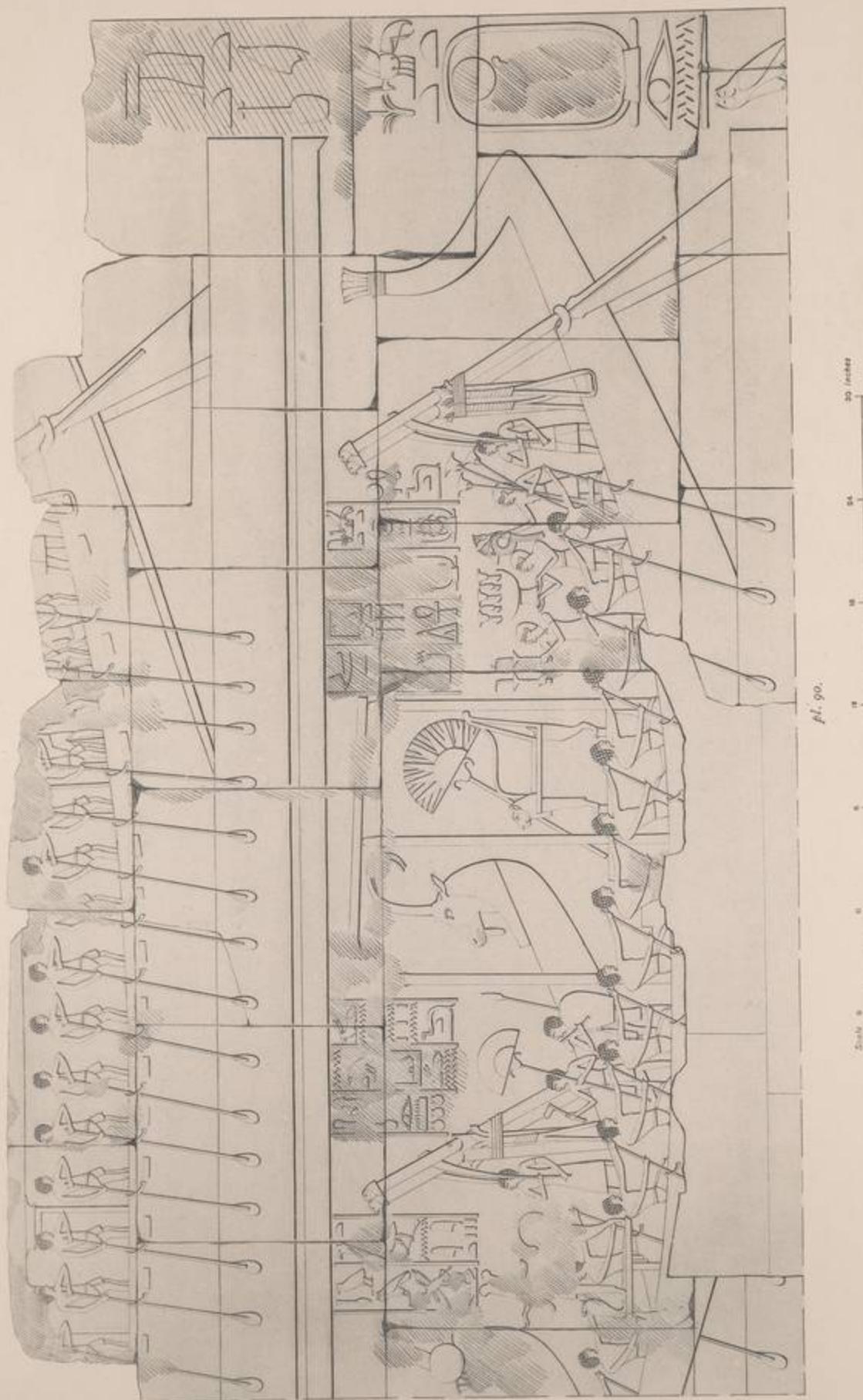
In lettering under Plate C.:—

For "Thothmes III. playing *bells* before Hathor,"
Read "Thothmes III. playing *ball* before Hathor."



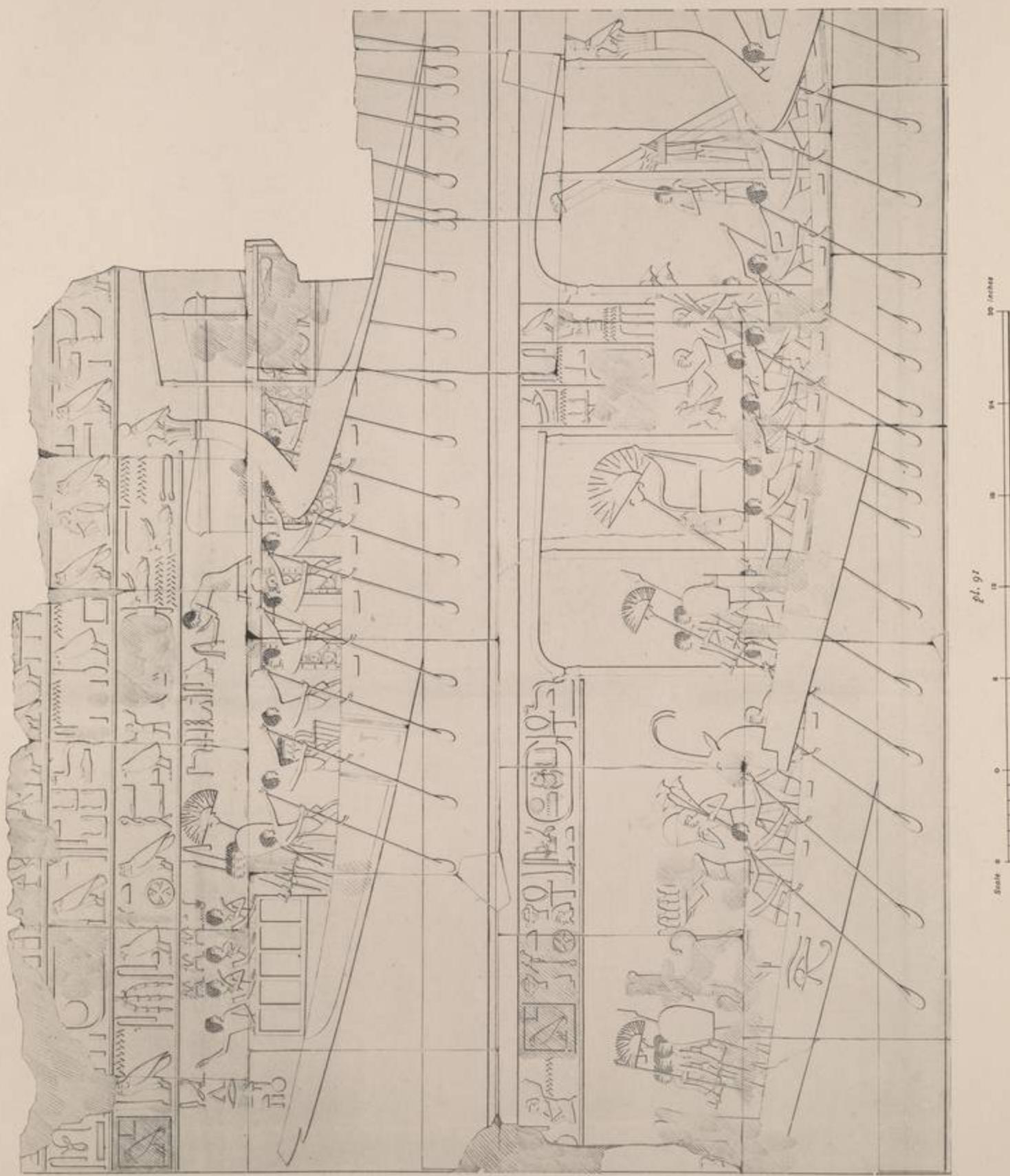
Scale 14 0 14 28 42 56 70 inches

HATHOR LICKING THE HAND OF THE QUEEN.

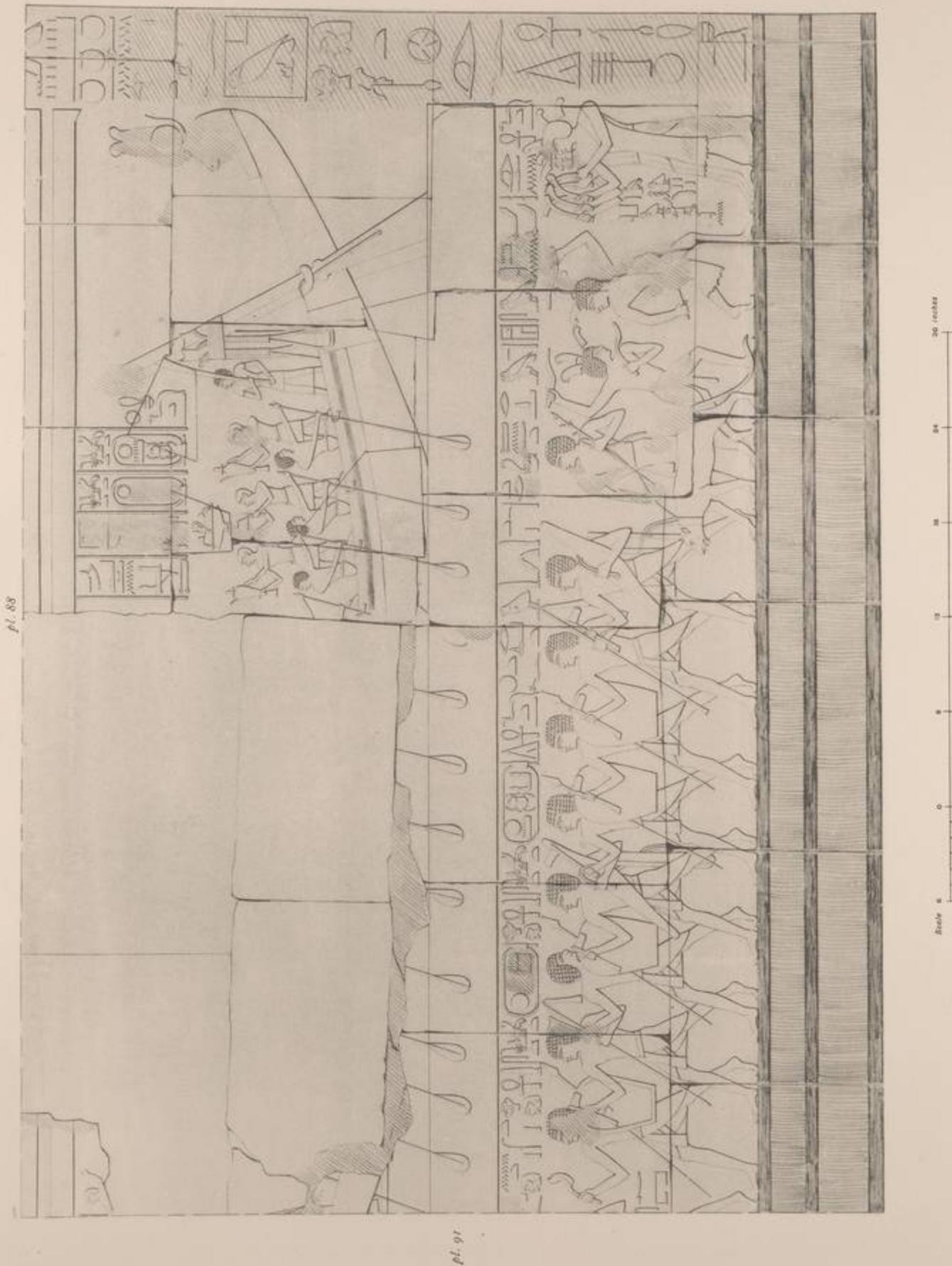


END OF PL. LXXXIX.

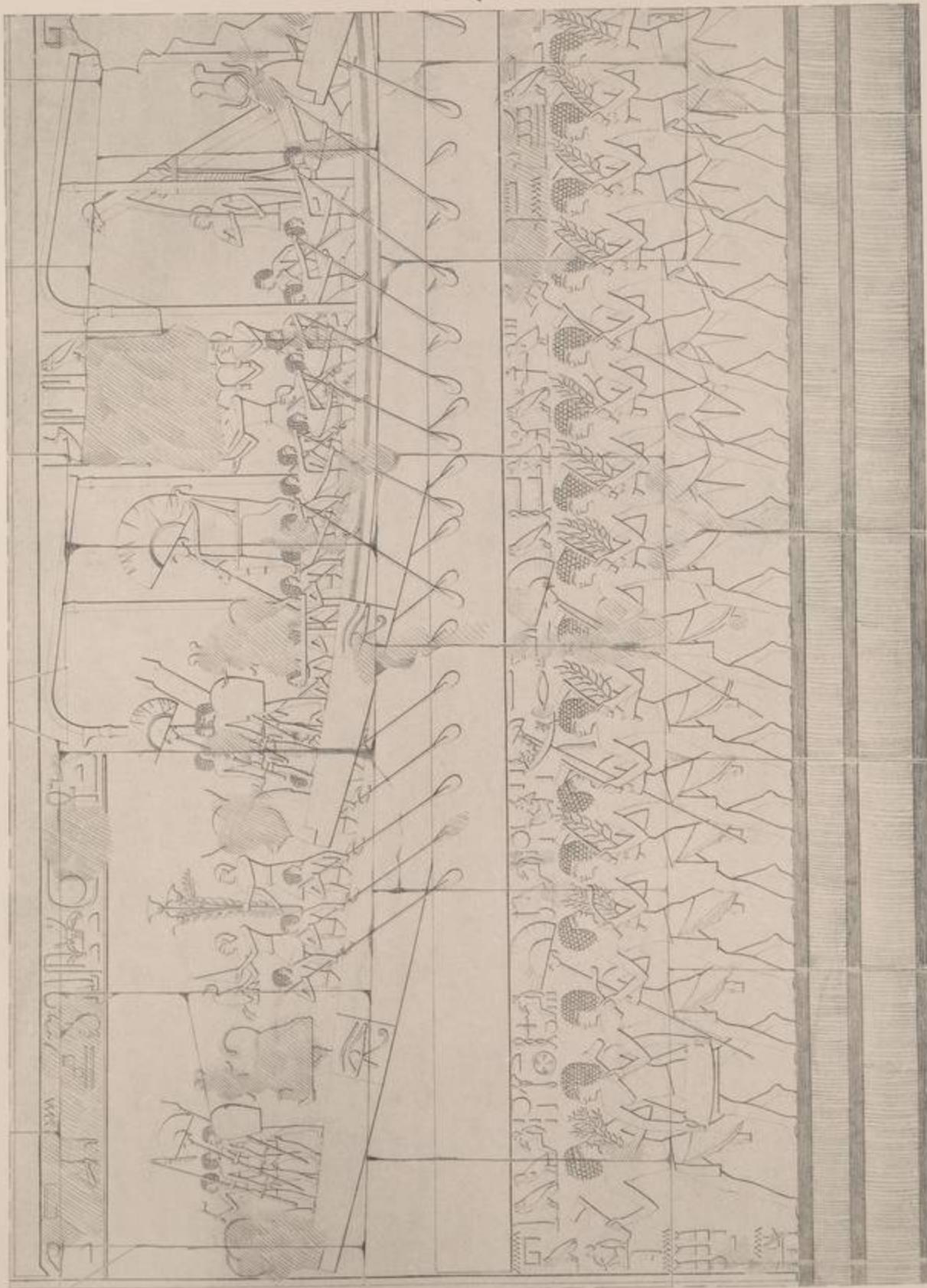
Pl. 88



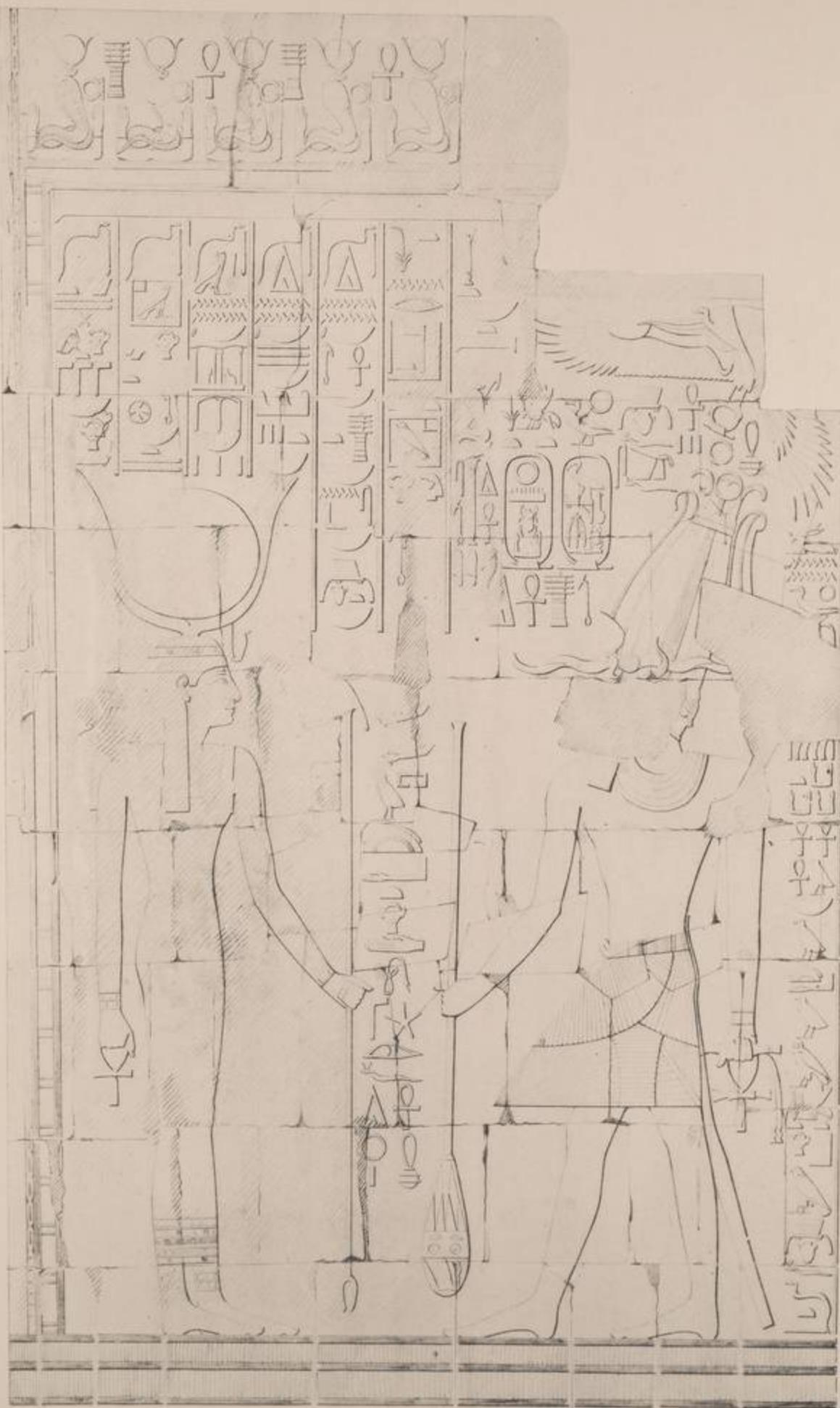
BOATS CARRYING THE EMBLEMS OF GODDESS AND QUEEN TO THE SHRIE.



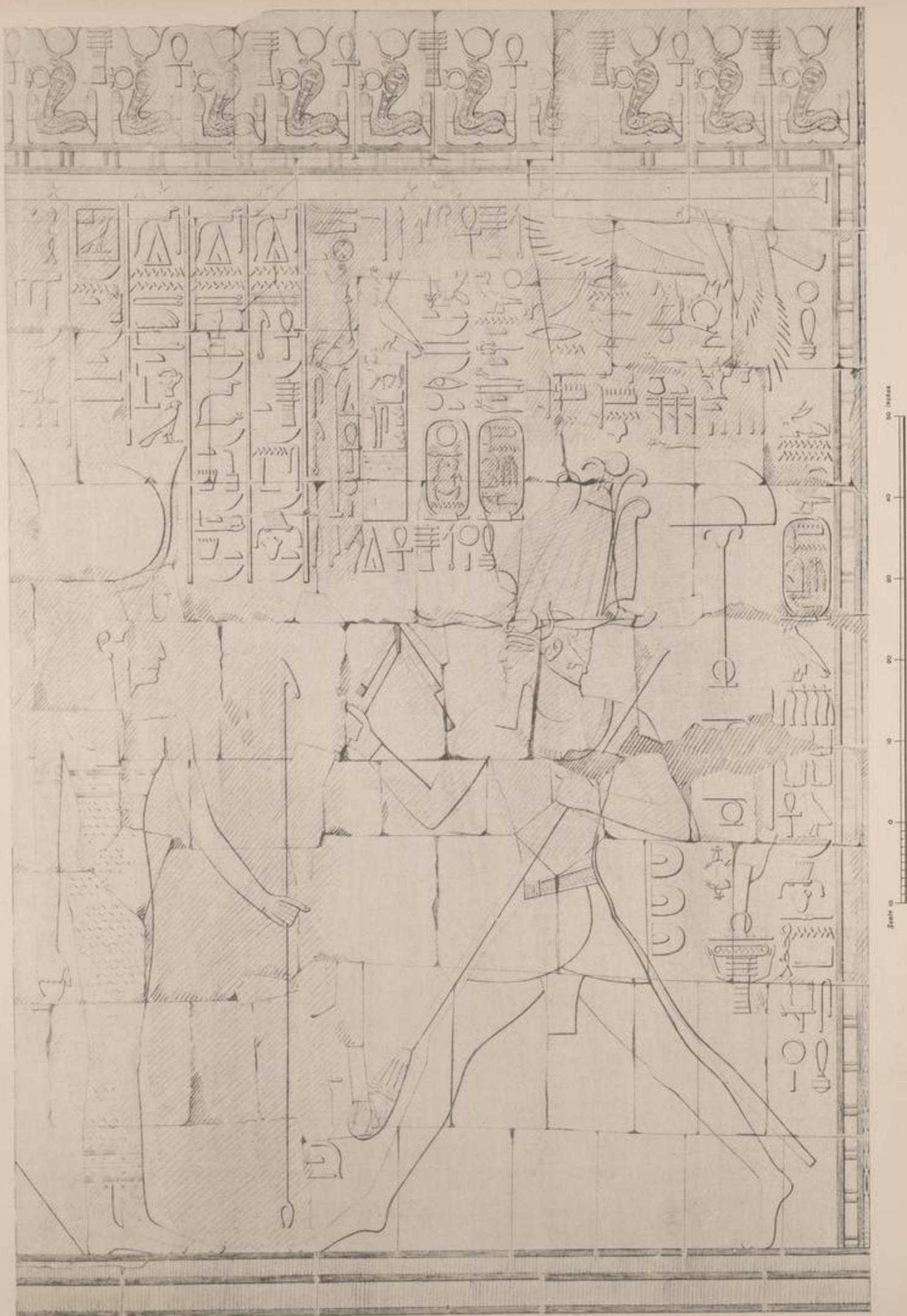
Pl. 90



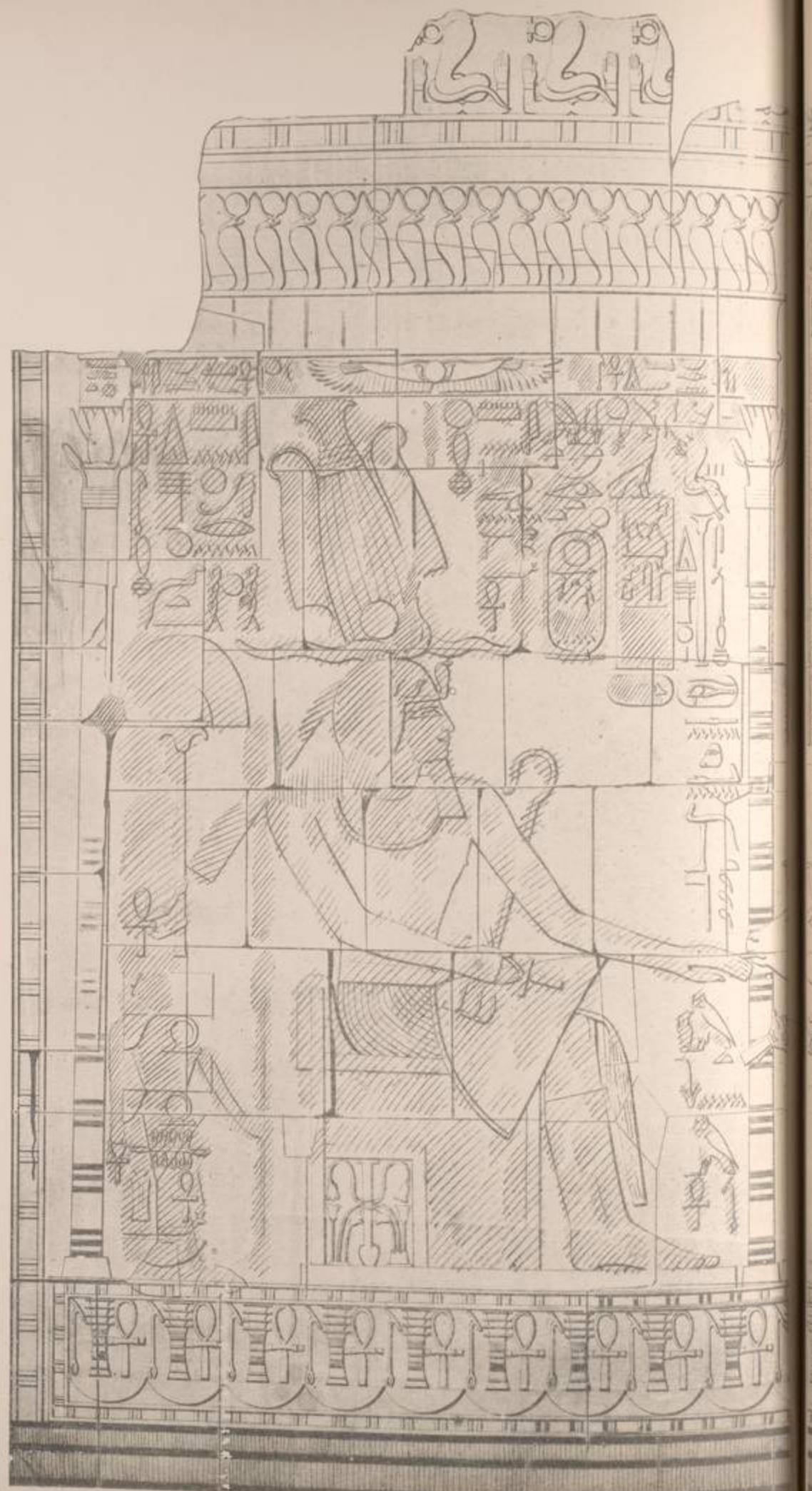
ESCORT OF BOATS AND PROCESSION OF SOLDIERS.

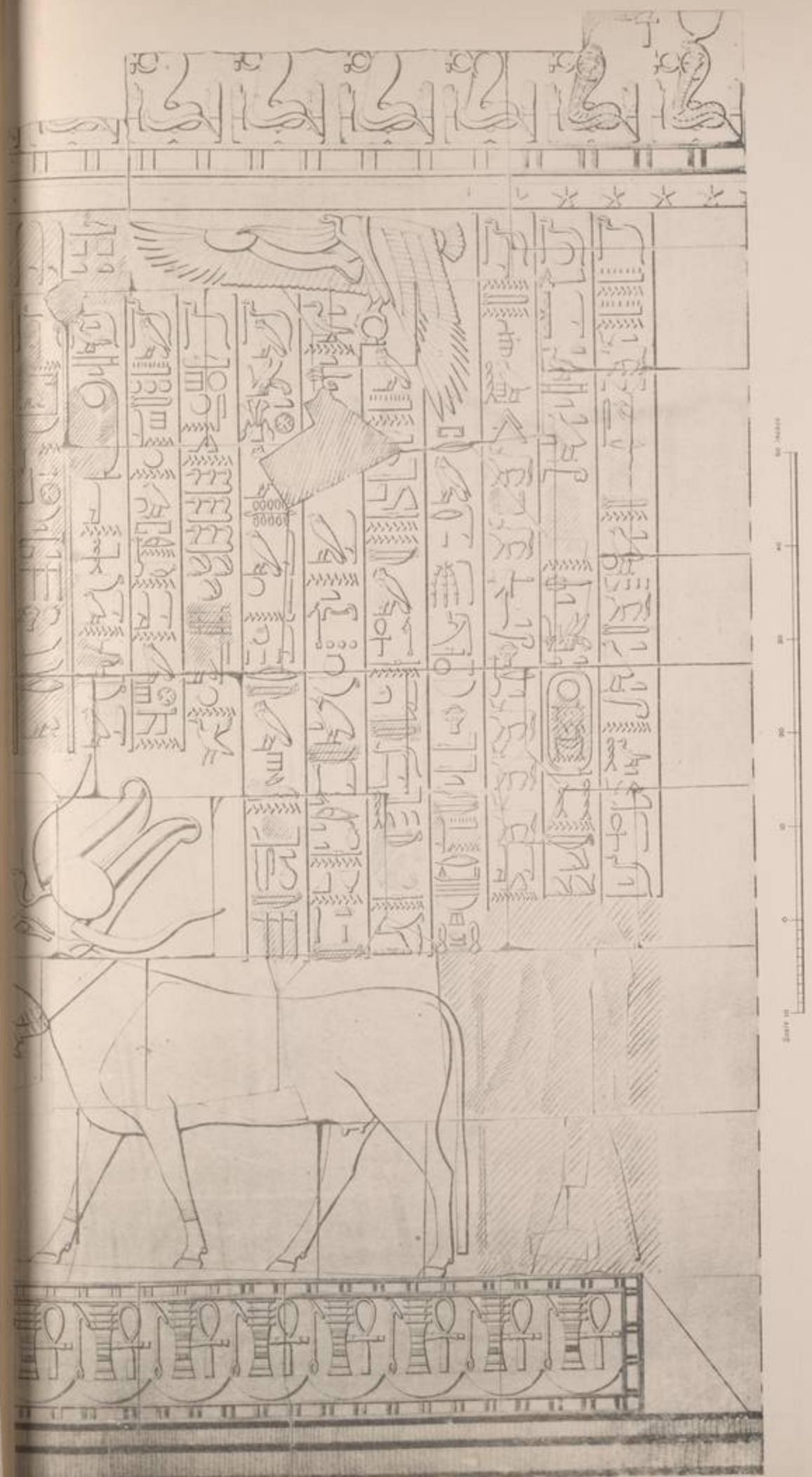


THOTHMES III. INTRODUCED INTO THE SHRINE.



HATSHEPSU OFFERING A SQUARE AND AN OAR TO HATHOR.



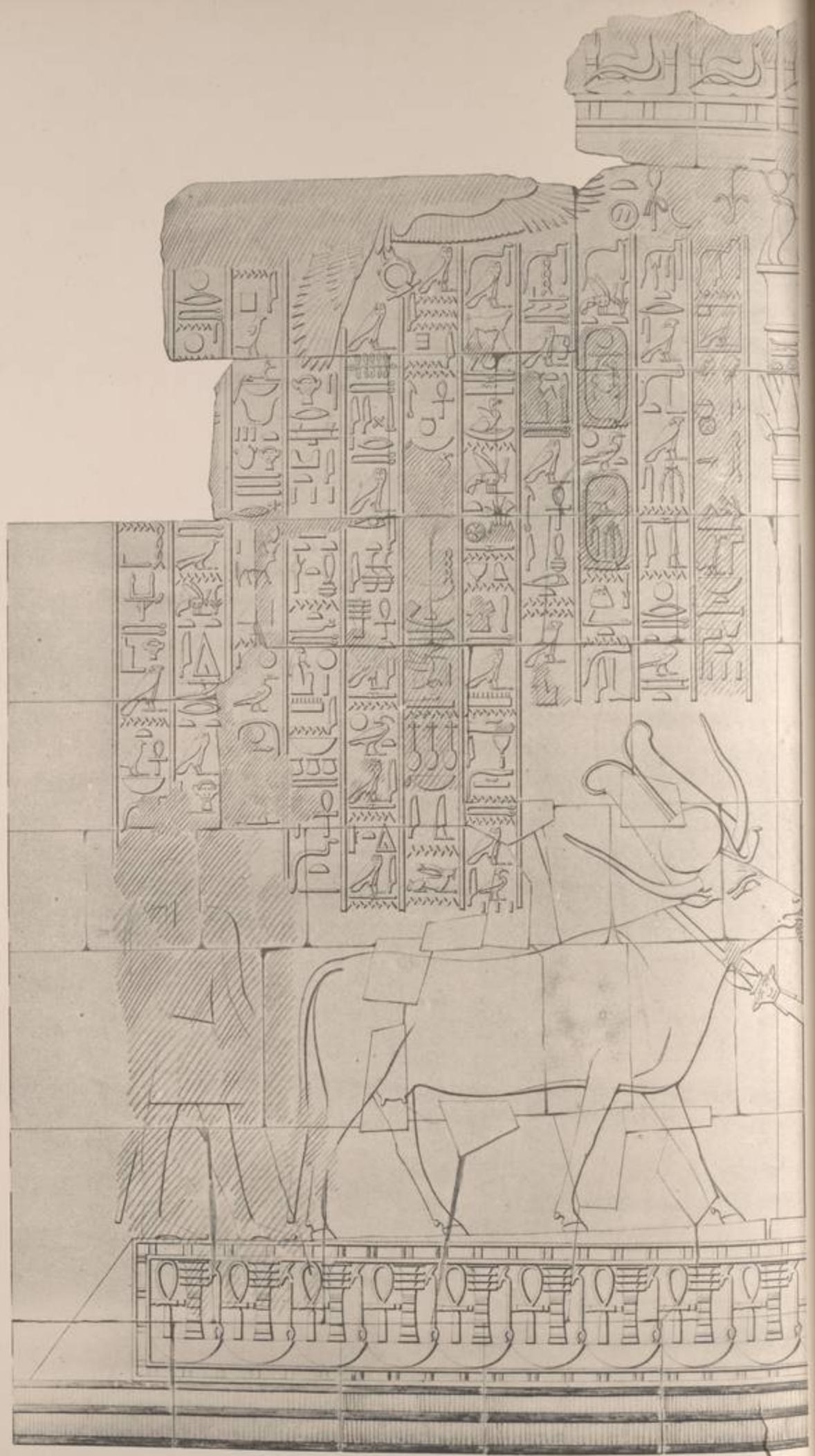


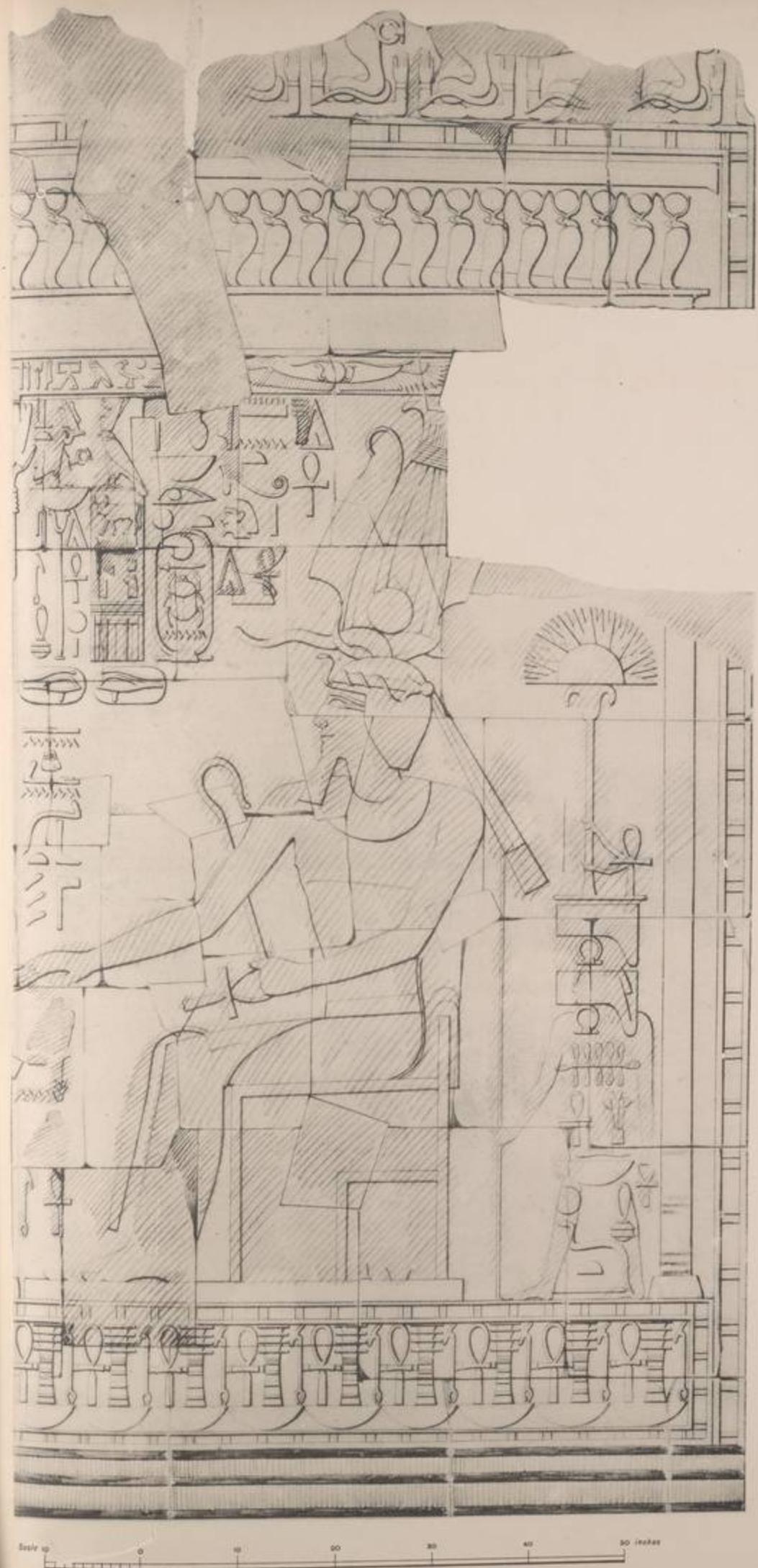
HATHOR LICKING THE HAND OF THE QUEEN.



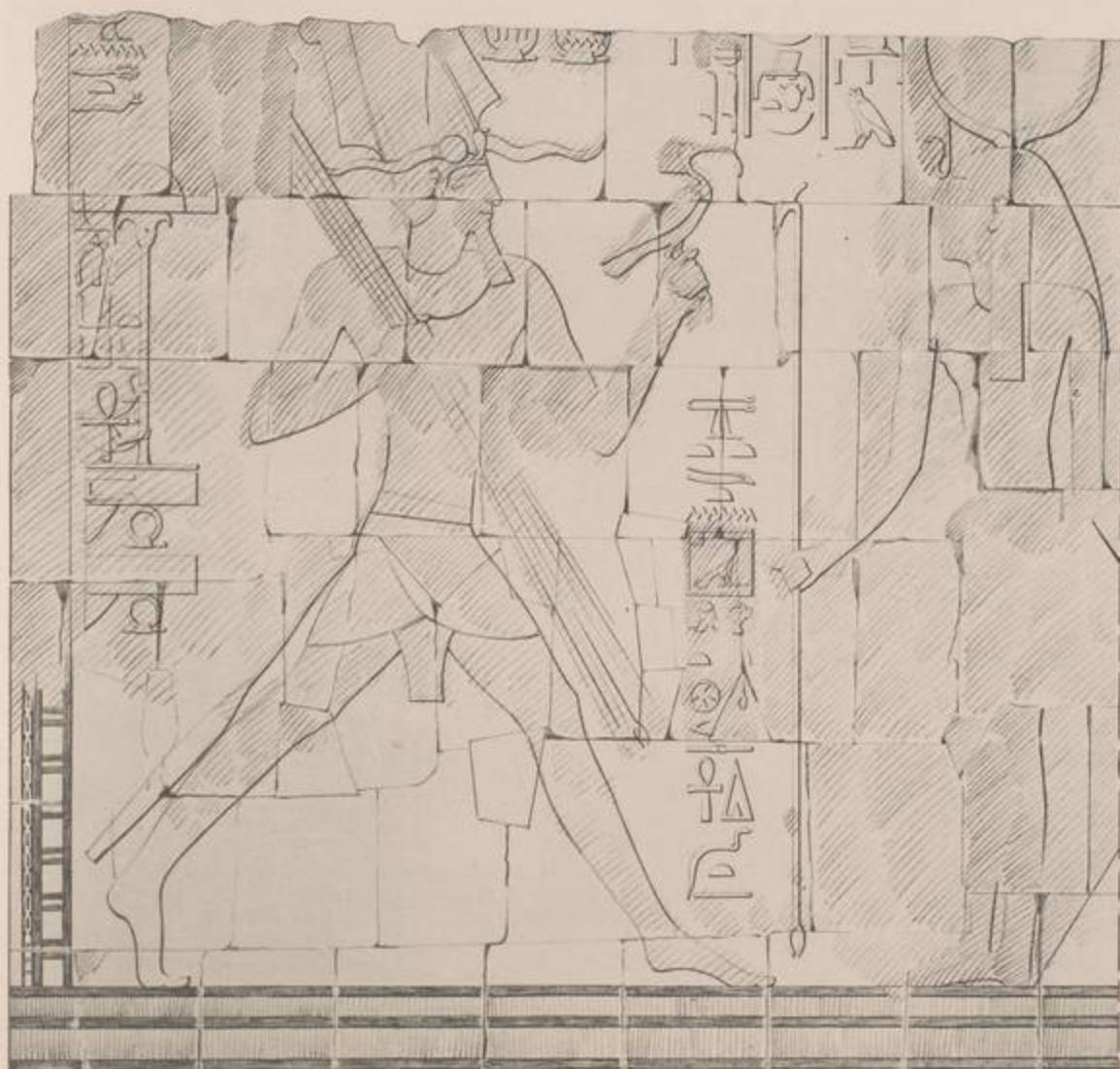
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ENTRANCE TO THE SHRINE.

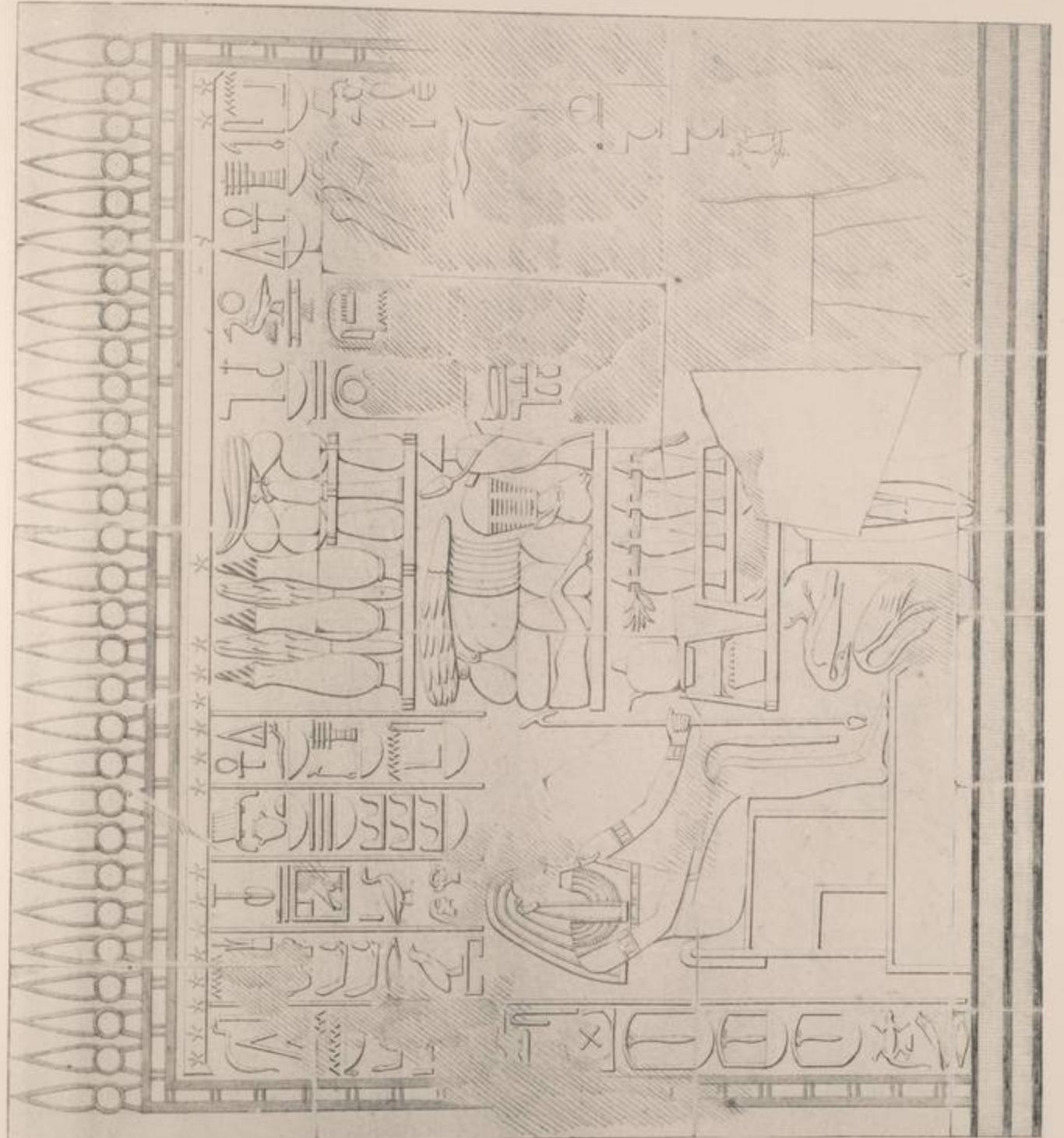




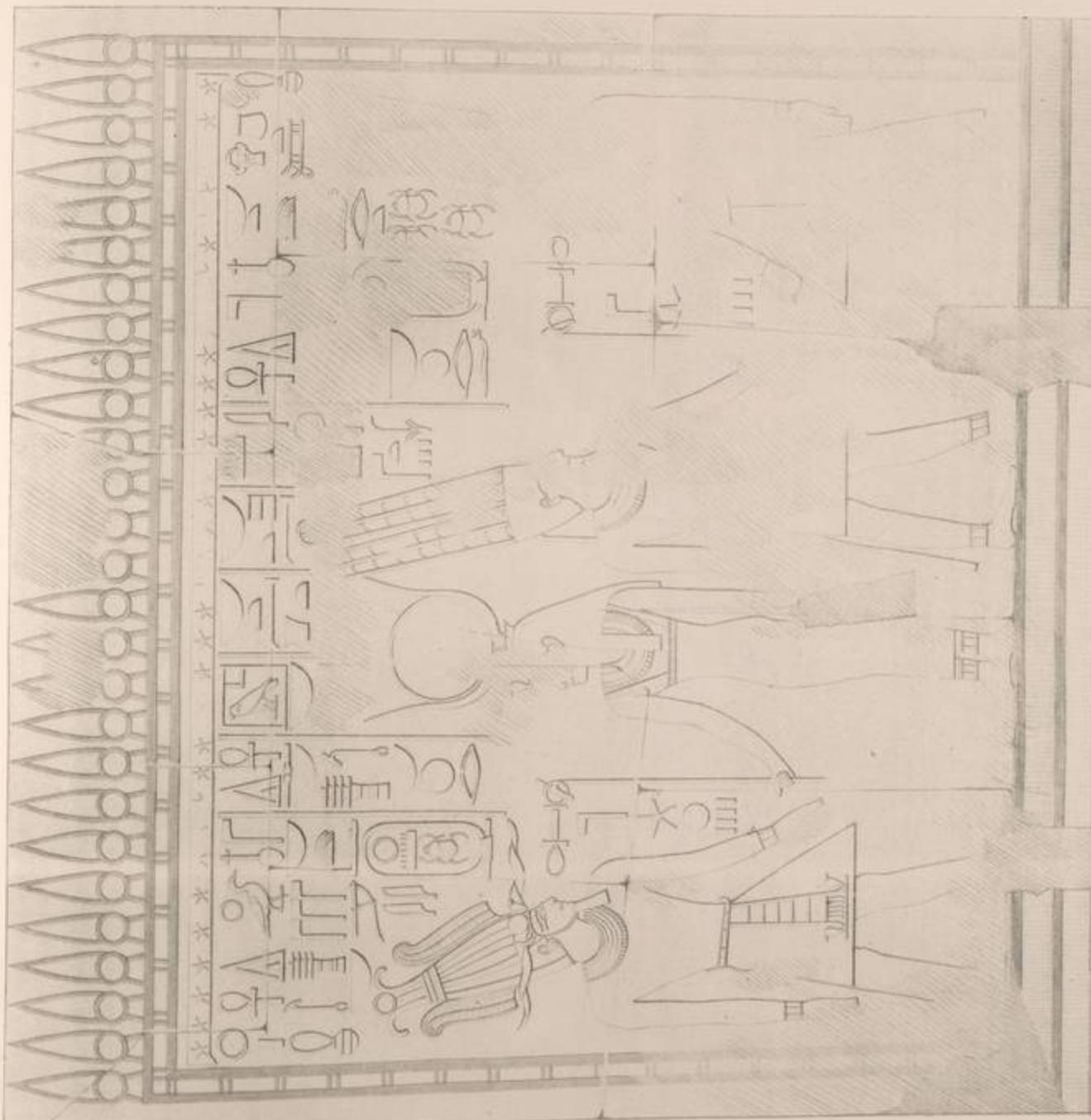
HATHOR LICKING THE HAND OF THE QUEEN.



THE QUEEN OFFERING TO HATHOR A BIRD AND THREE SCEPTRES.



OFFERINGS OF THE QUEEN TO SAMTAUI.



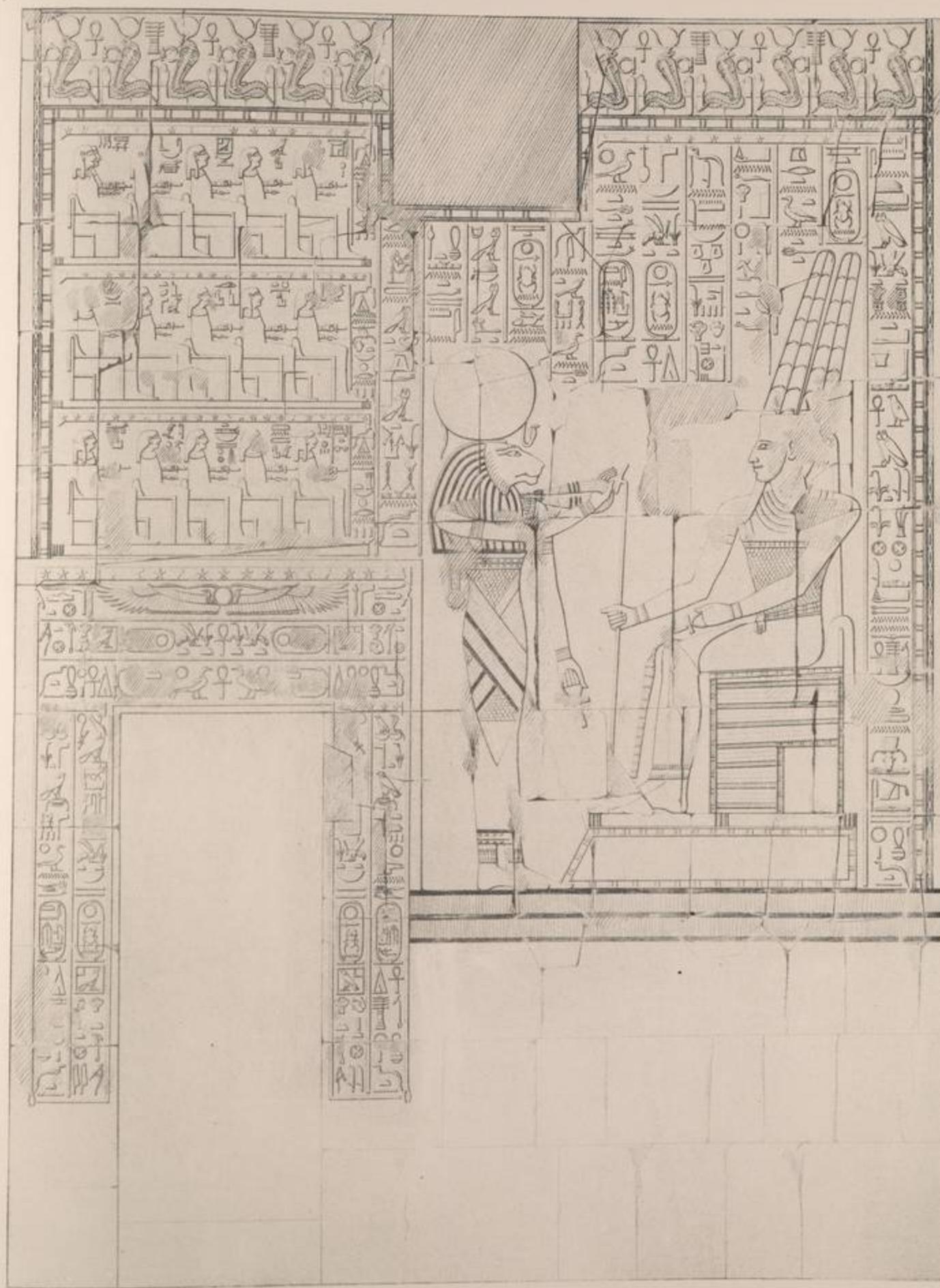
THOTHMES III. WORSHIPPING HATHOR.

THE QUEEN WORSHIPPING AMON.



Scale 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

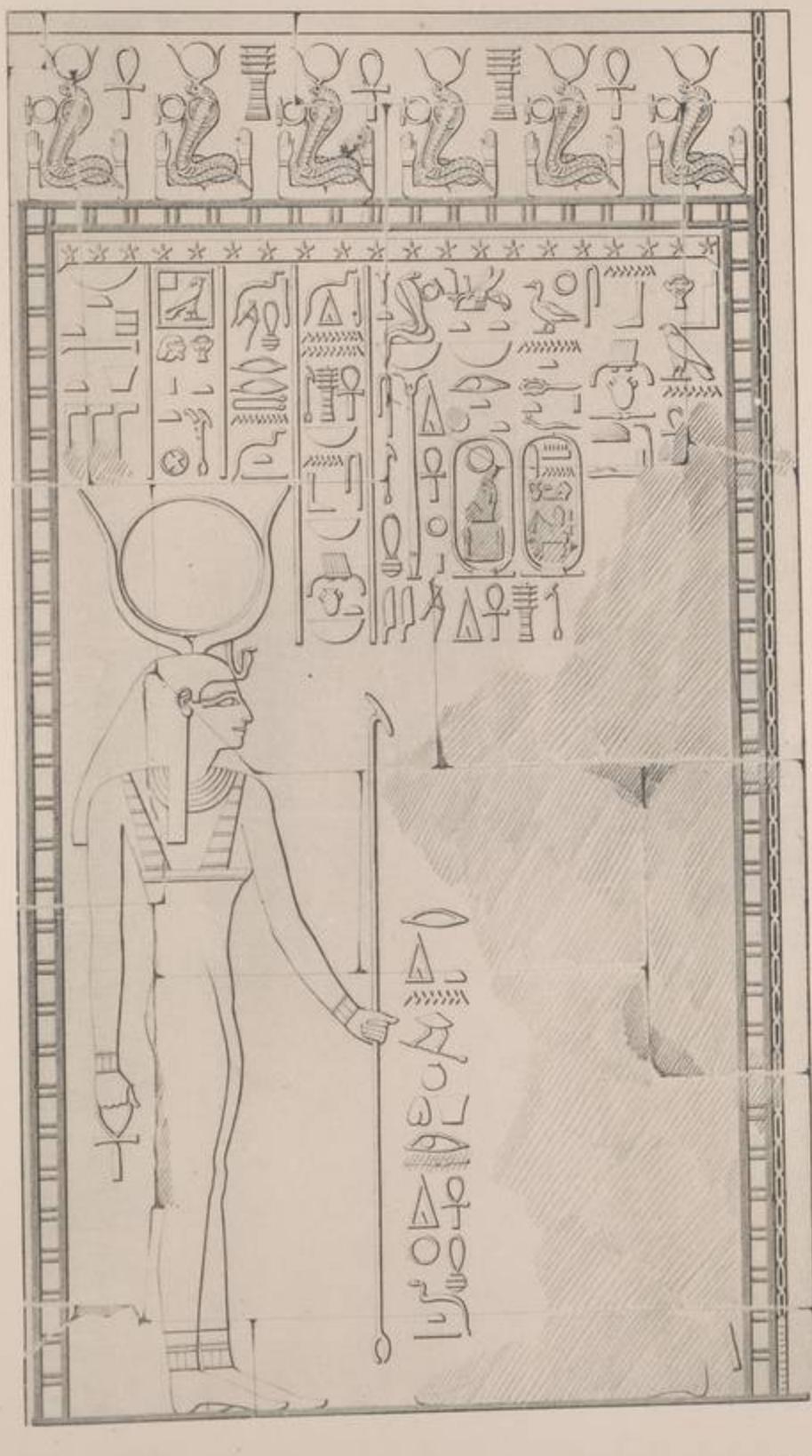
THOTHMES III. PLAYING BELLS BEFORE HATHOR.



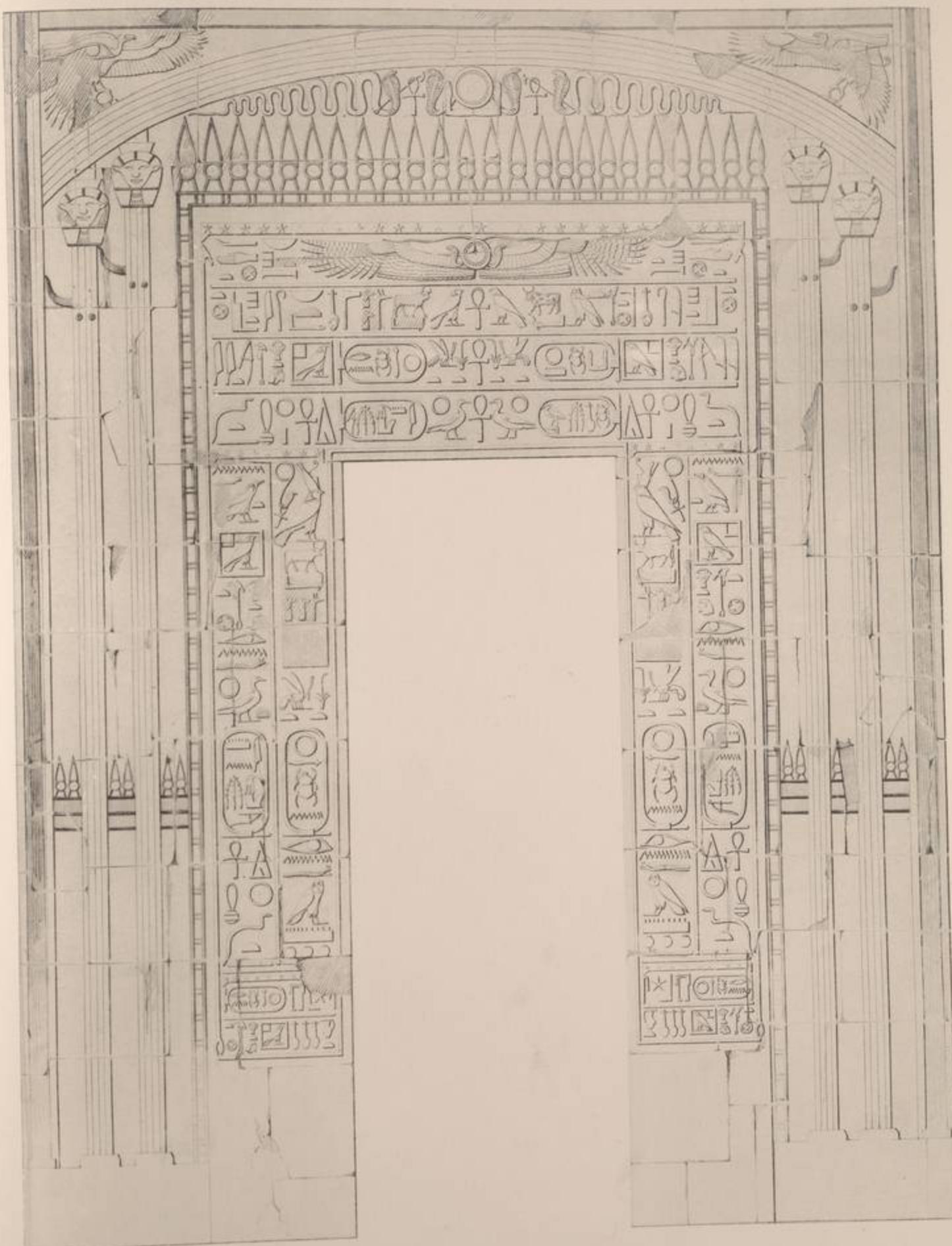
Scale 1:4

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 inches

HATSHEPSU (ERASED) CROWNED BY URTHEKU AND AMON.

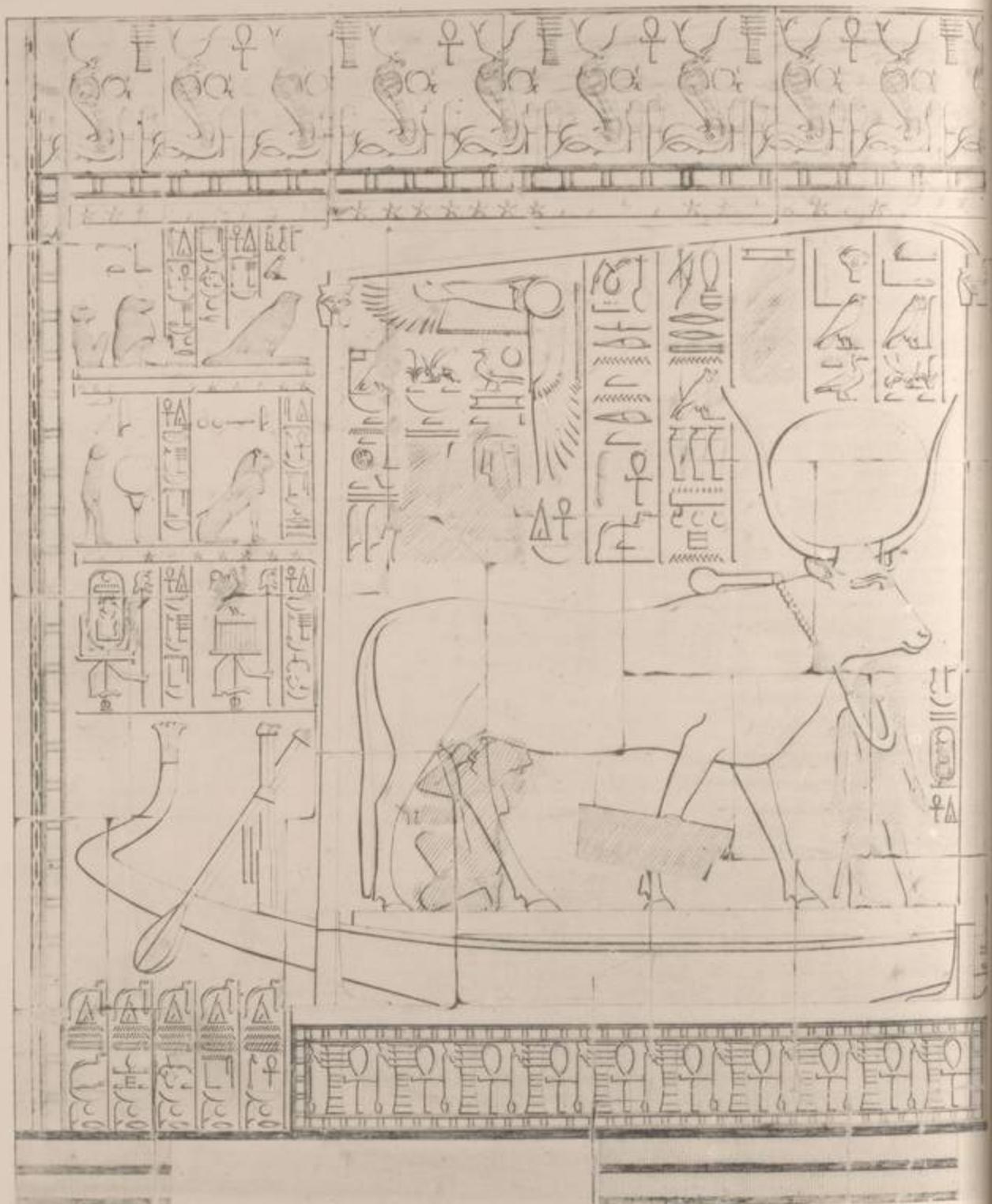


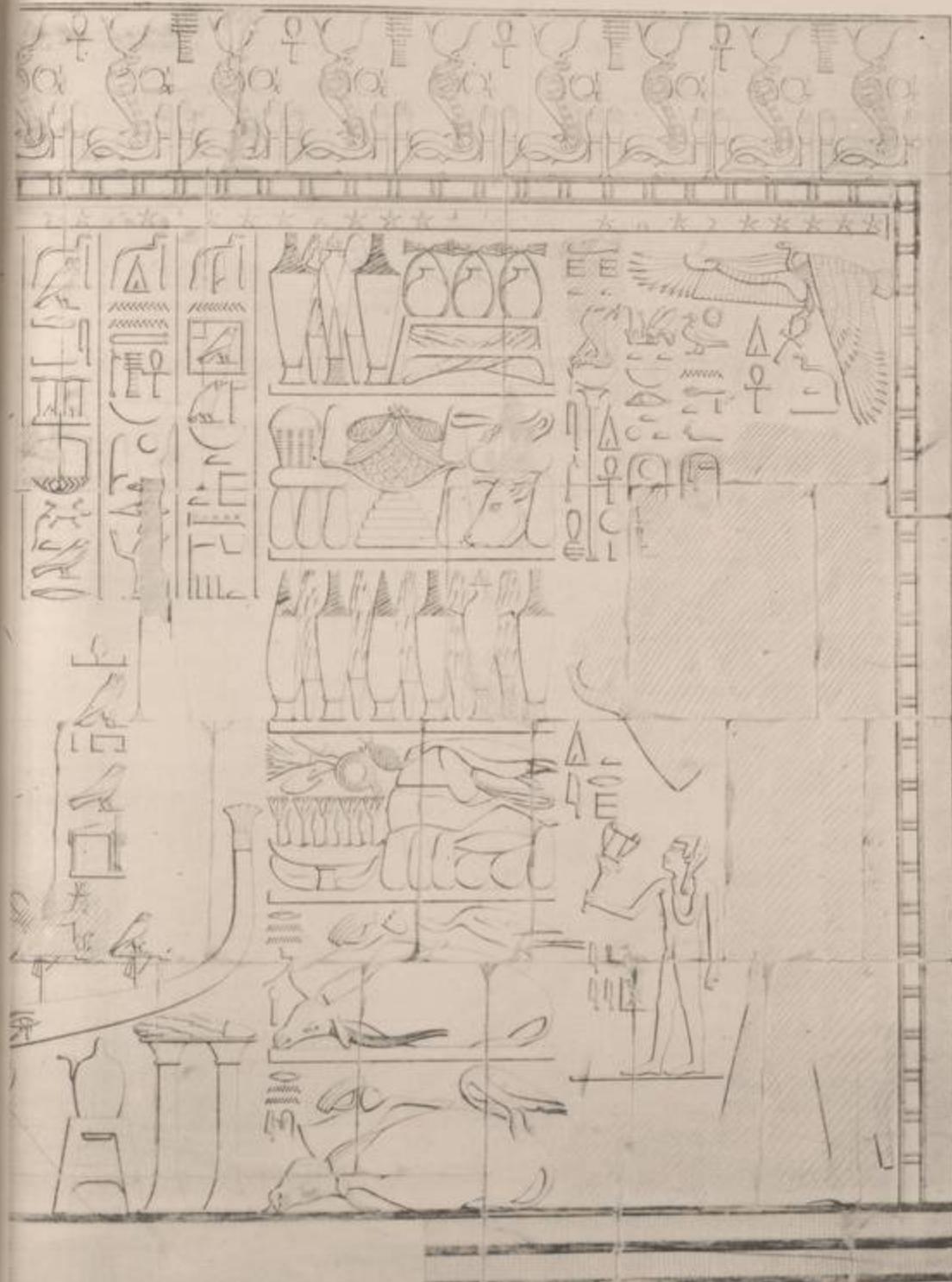
THE QUEEN OFFERING A VASE TO HATHOR.



Scale 1/8

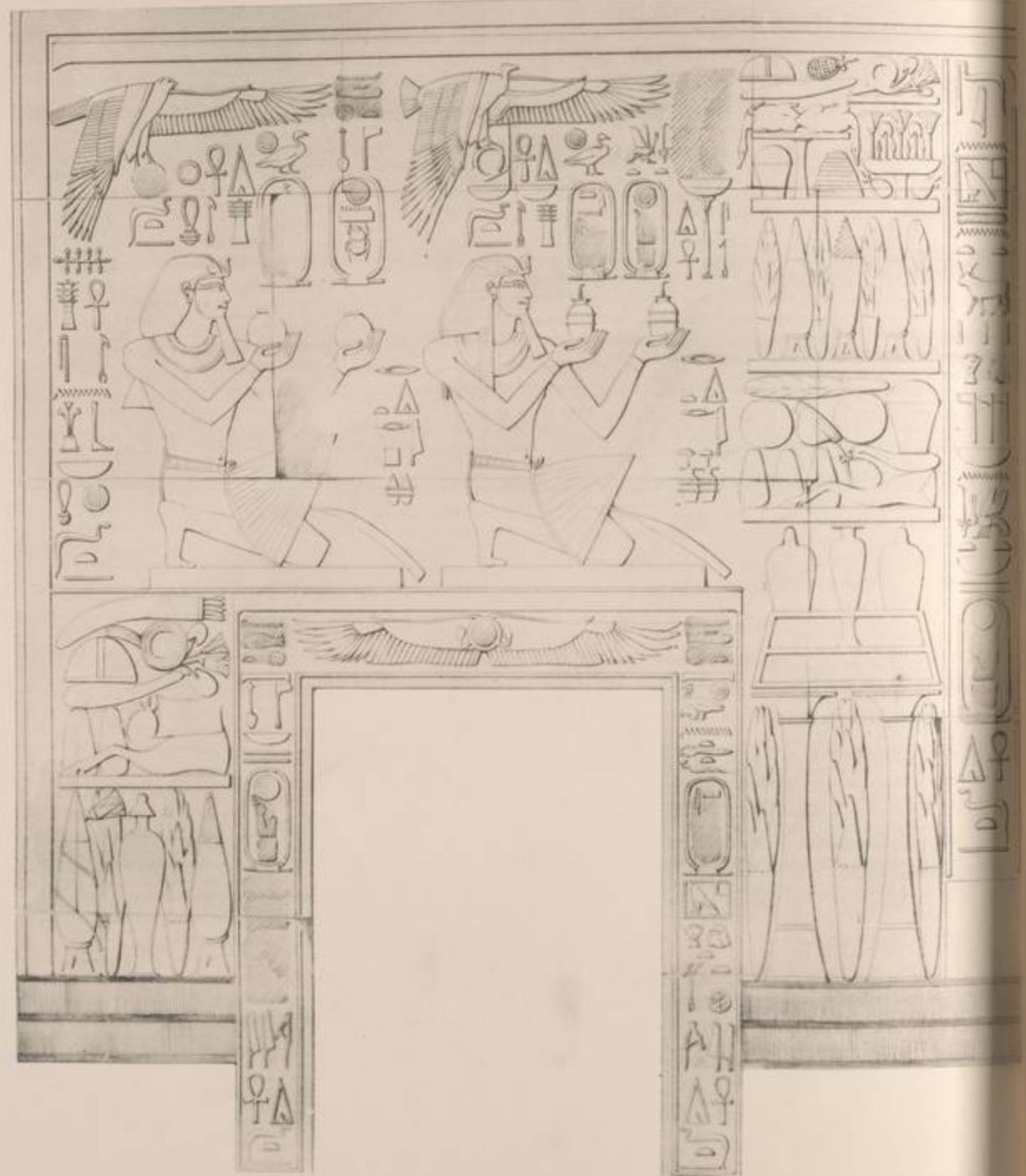
ENTRANCE TO THE OUTER SANCTUARY.

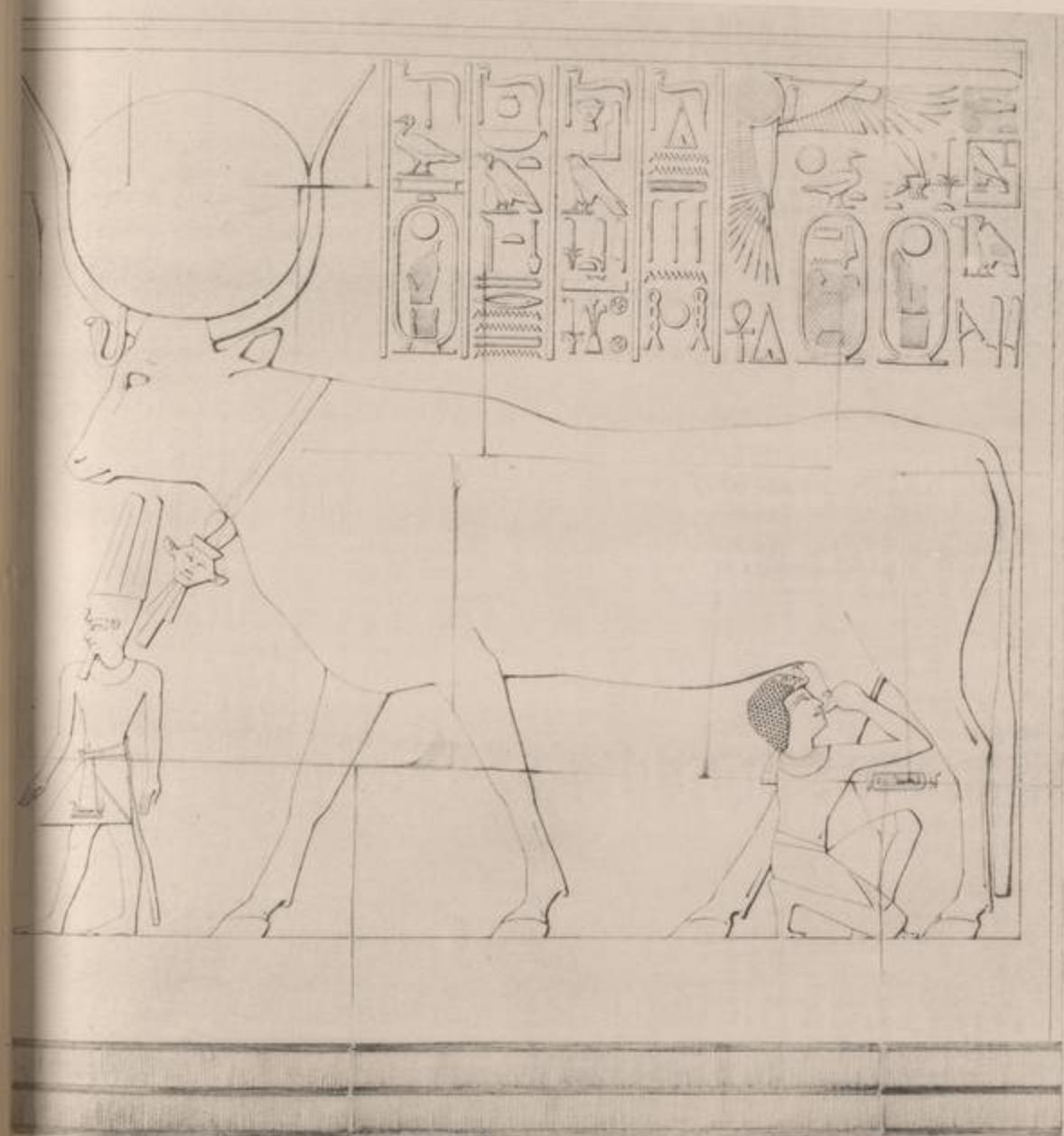




Scale 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 inches

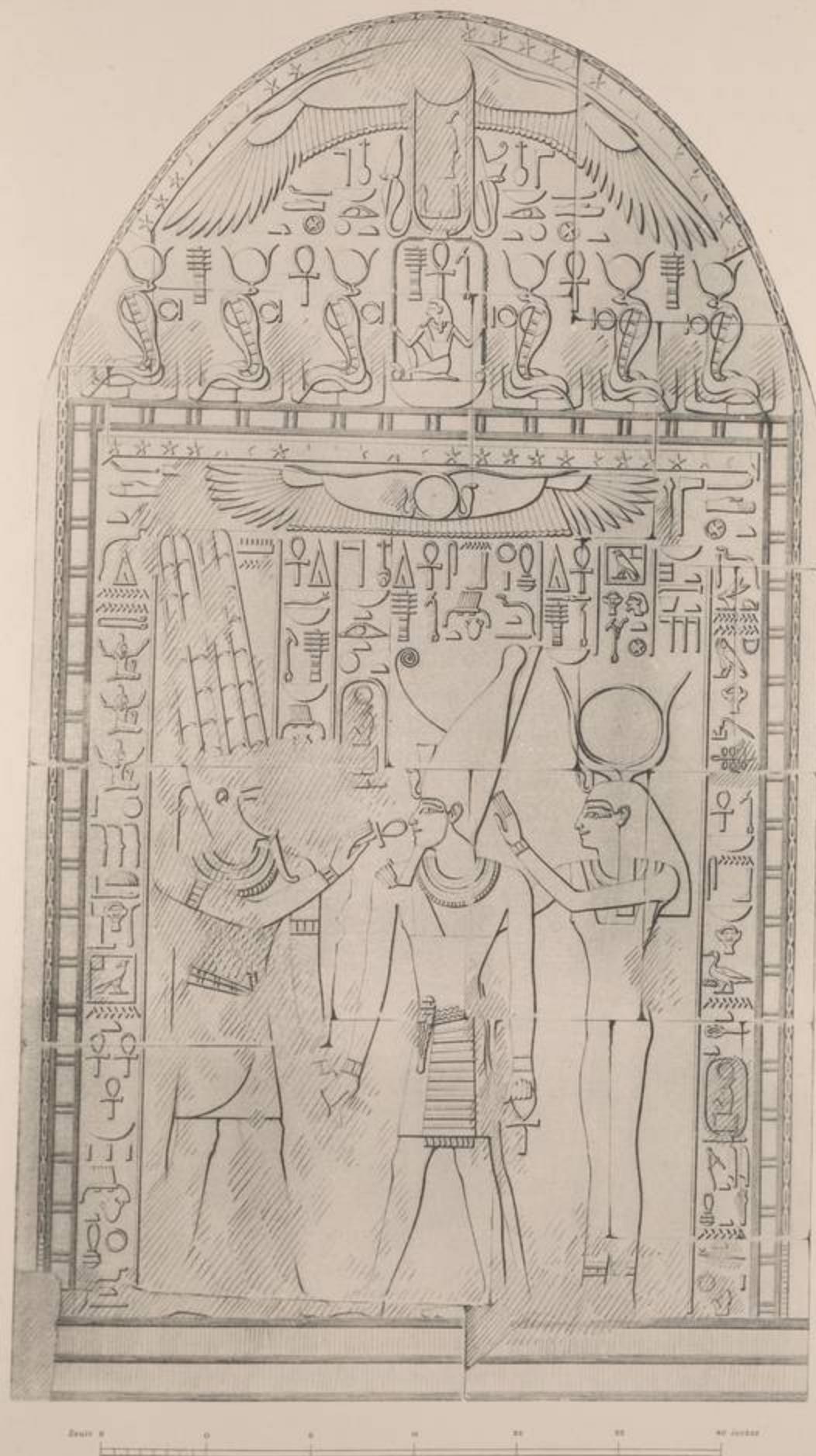
OFFERINGS OF THE QUEEN TO HATHOR IN HER SACRED BOAT.



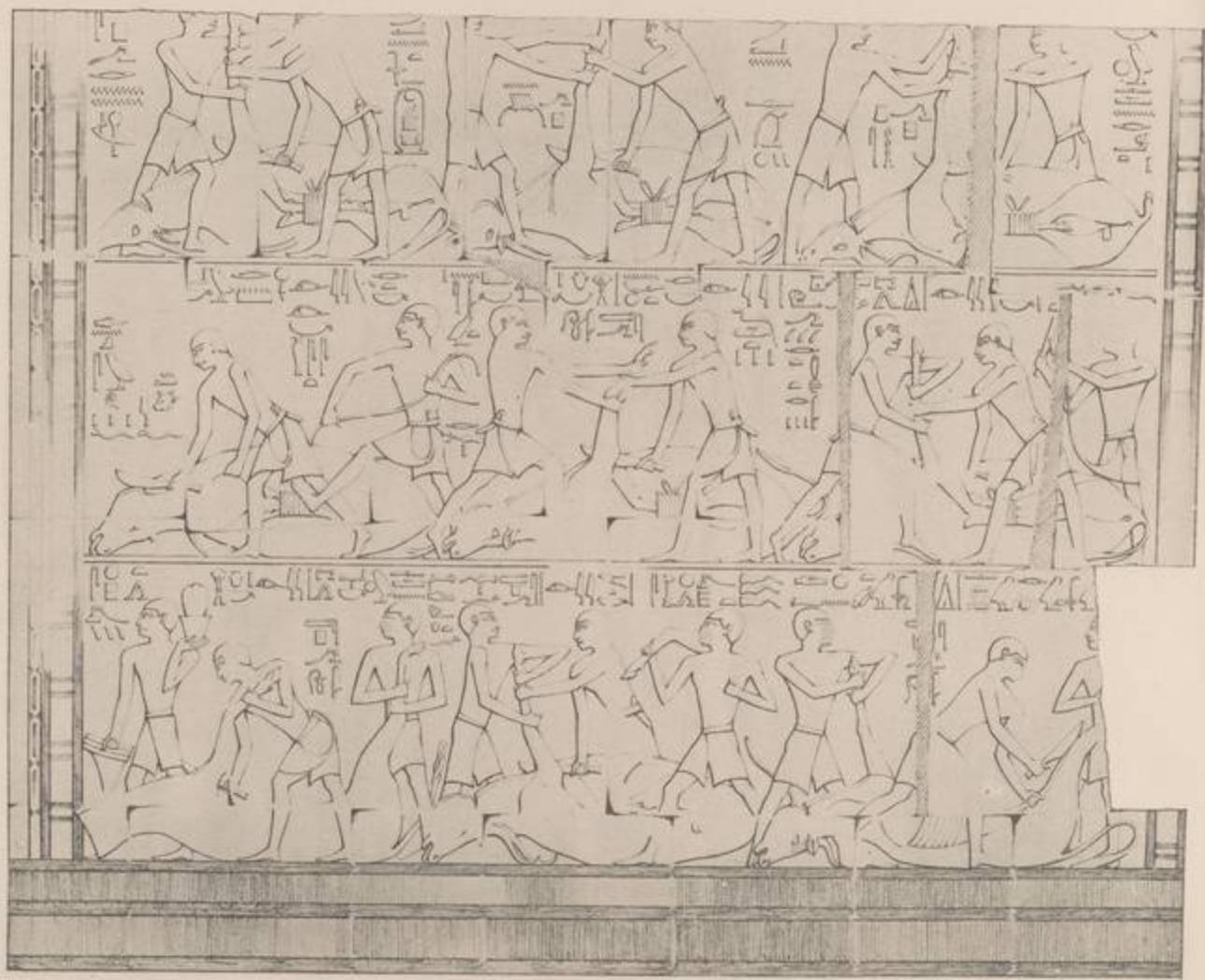


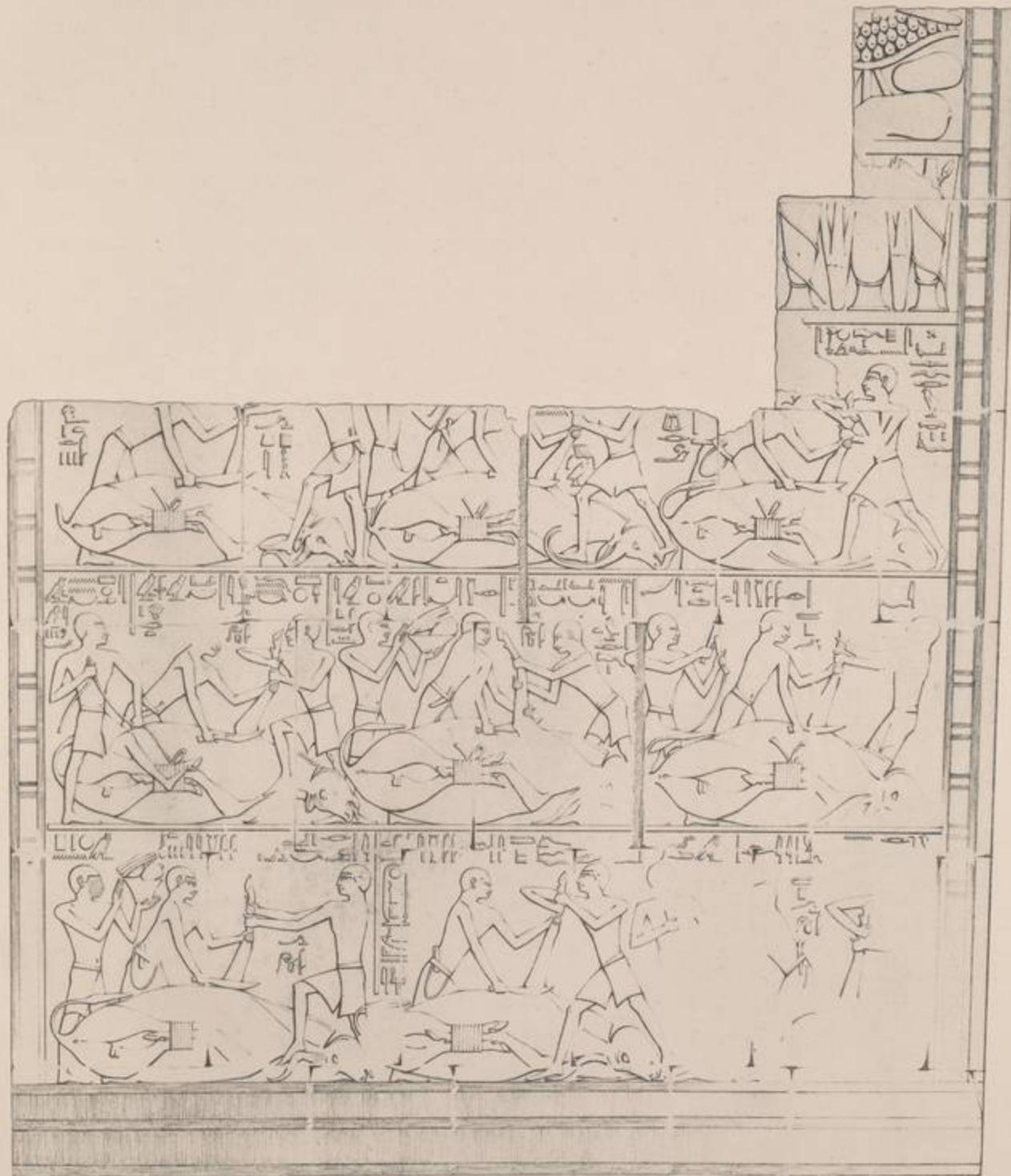
Scale 0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 inches

HATSHEPSU AND THOTHMES III. OFFERING WINE TO HATHOR.



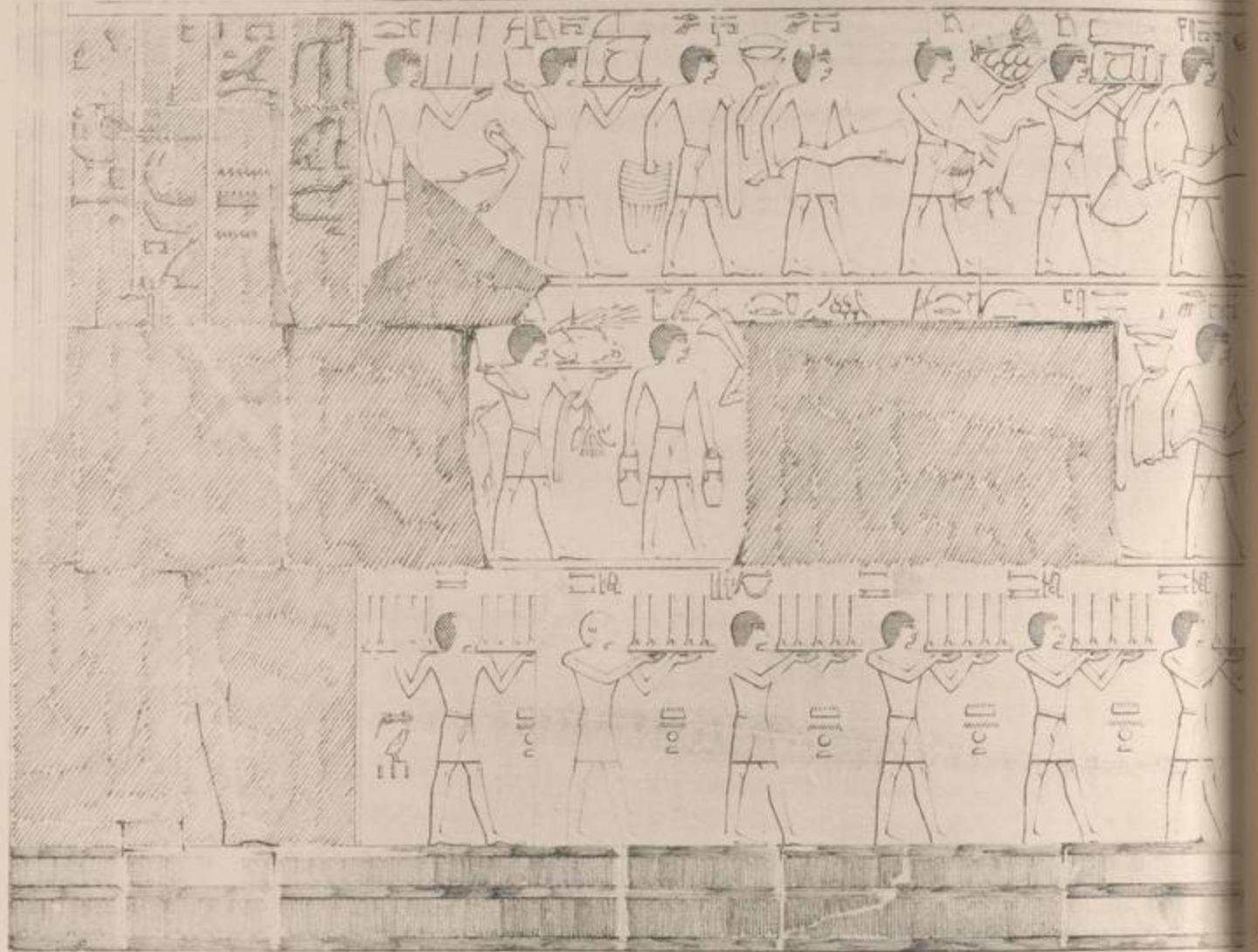
HATSHEPSU BETWEEN HATHOR AND AMON.

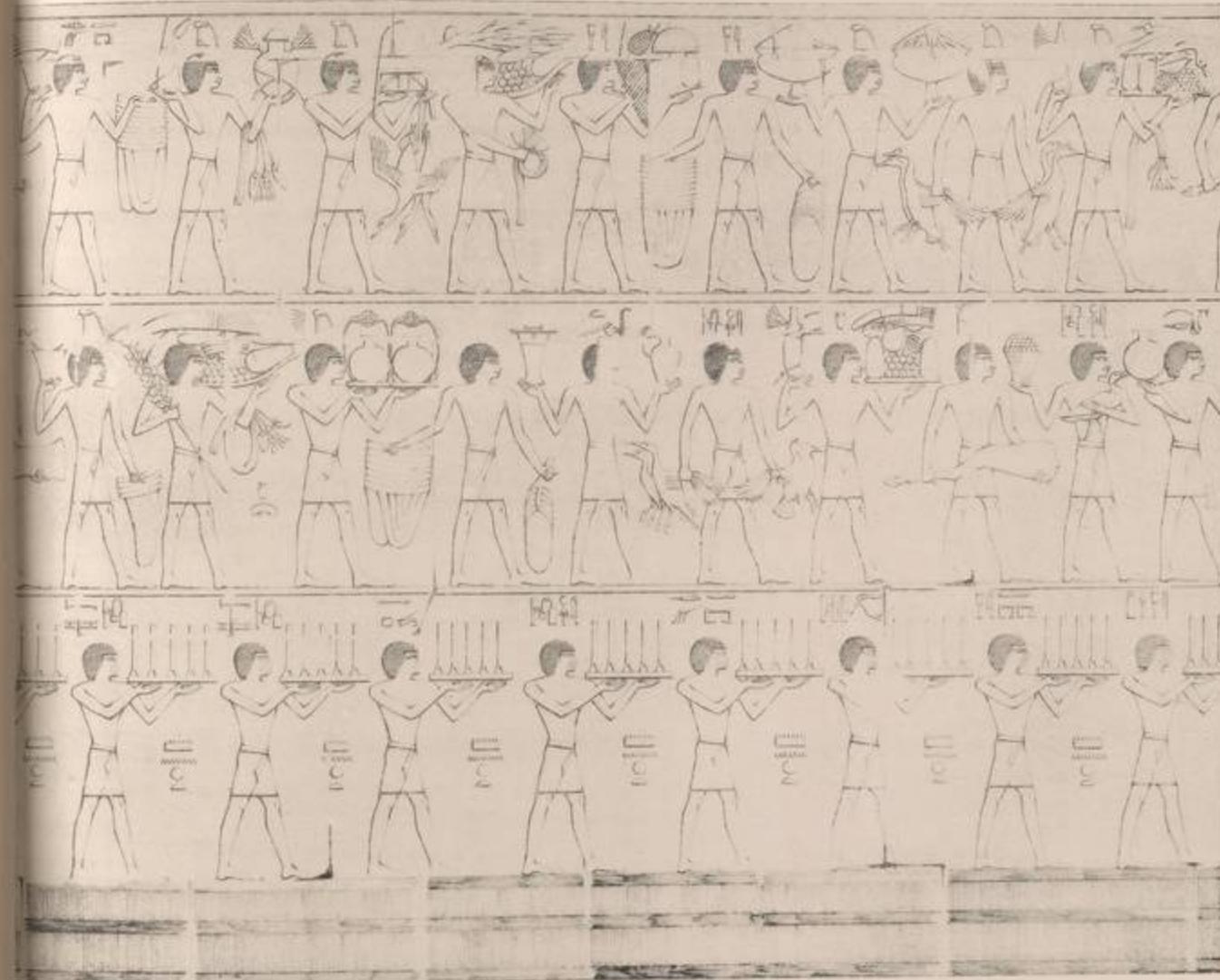




Scale 8 0 4 8 12 16 20 24 28 32 36 40 inches

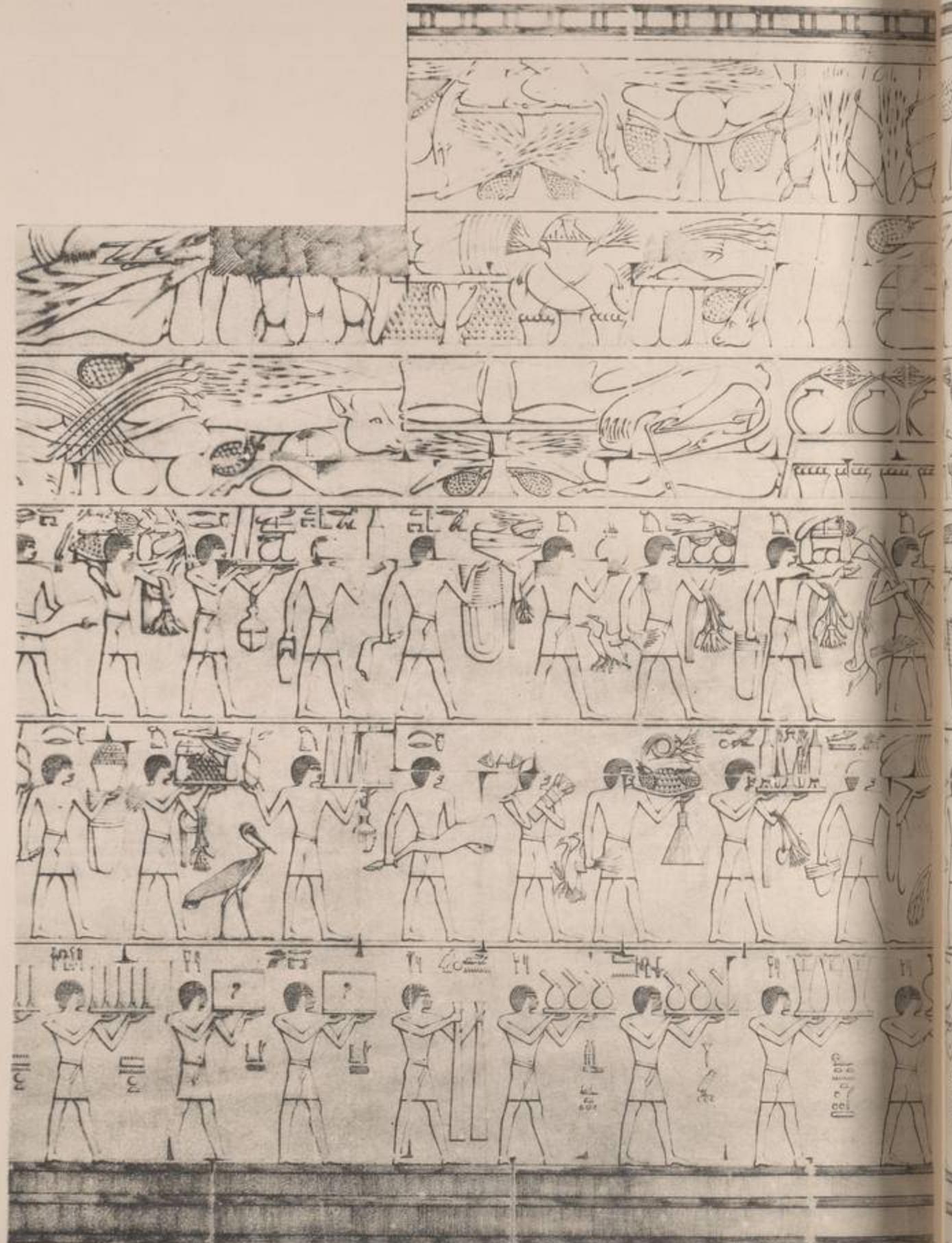
ANIMALS OFFERED TO HATSHEPSU.

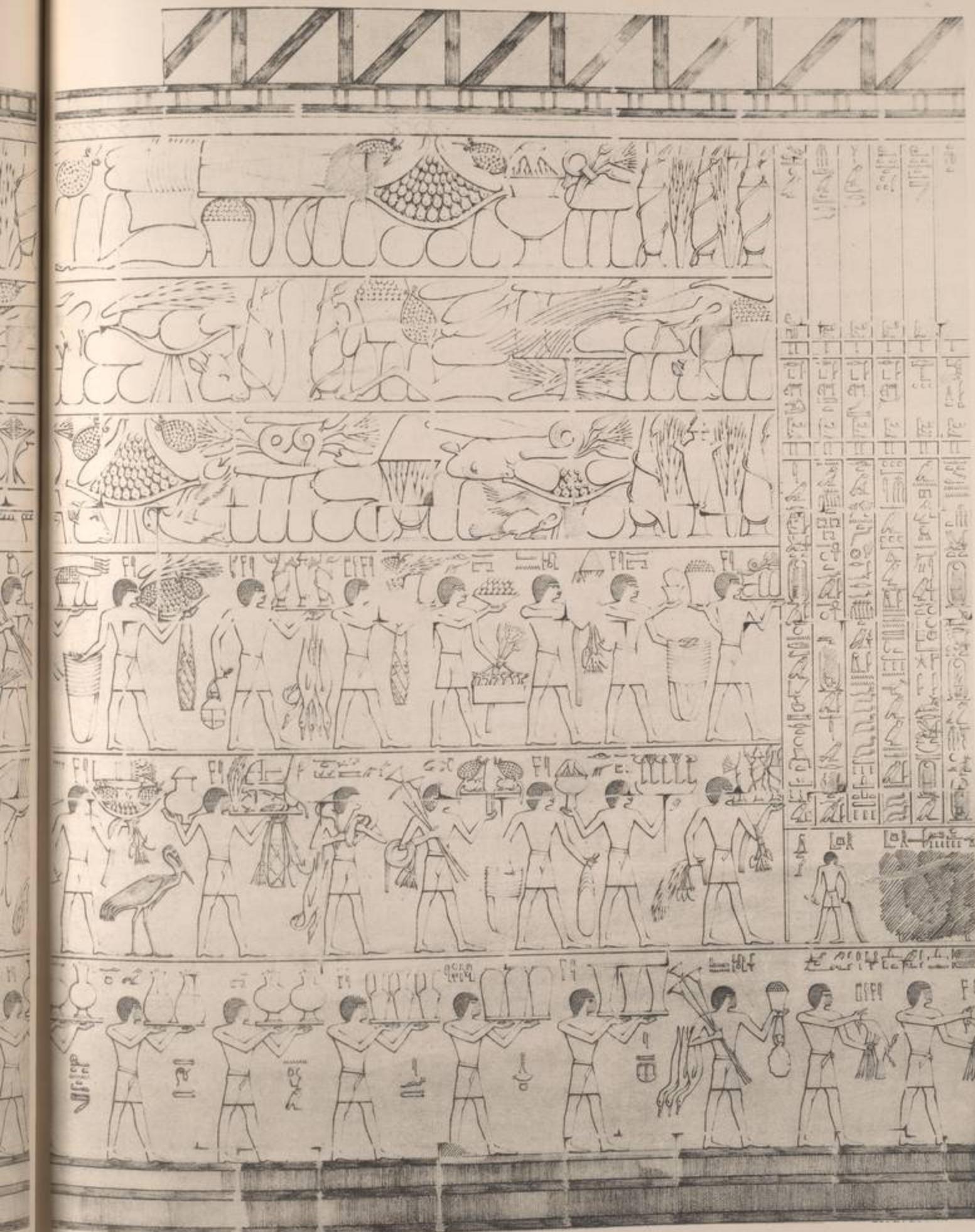




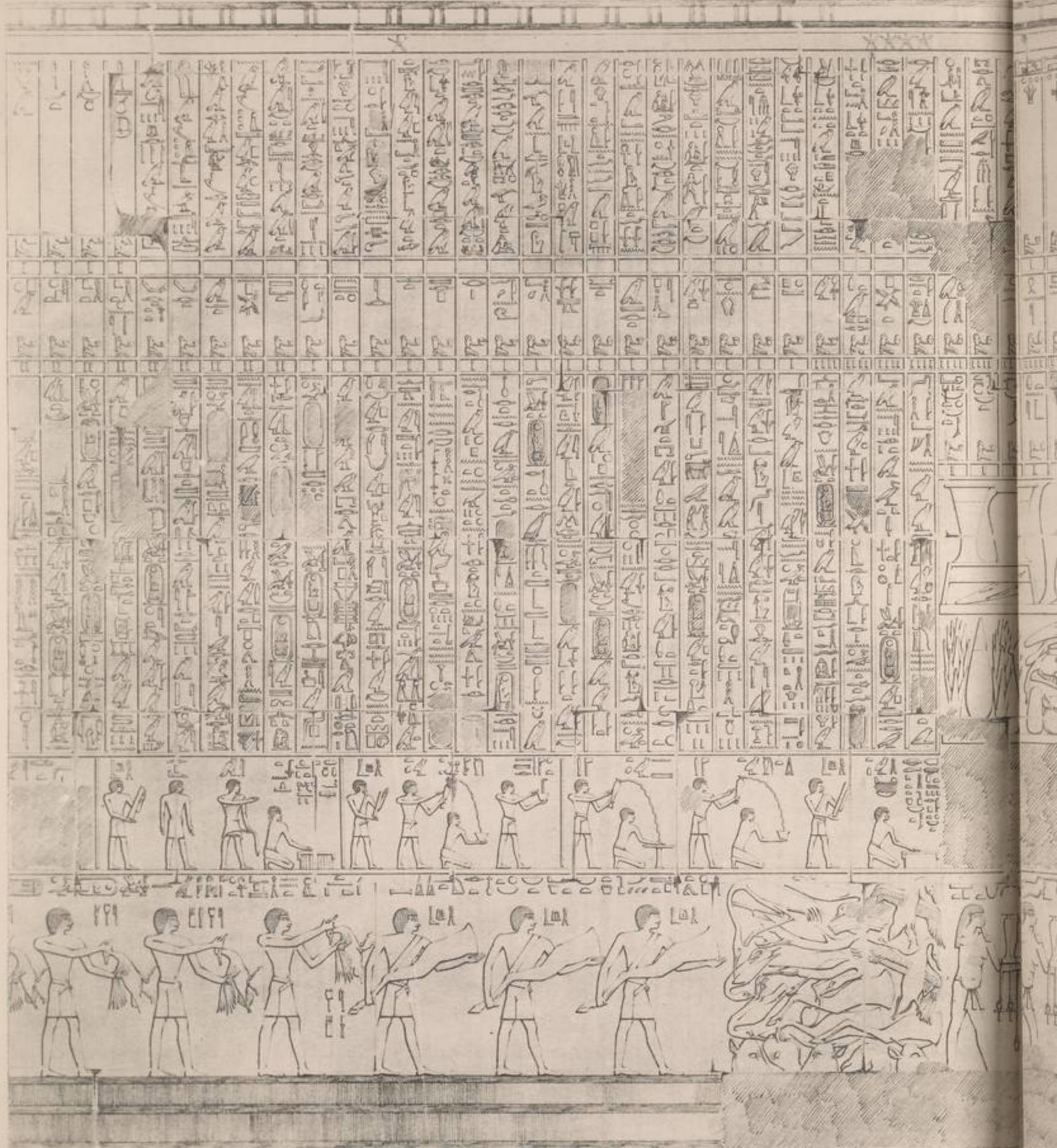
Scale 8 0 4 8 12 16 20 24 28 32 36 40 inches

PROCESSION OF PRIESTS CARRYING OFFERINGS.



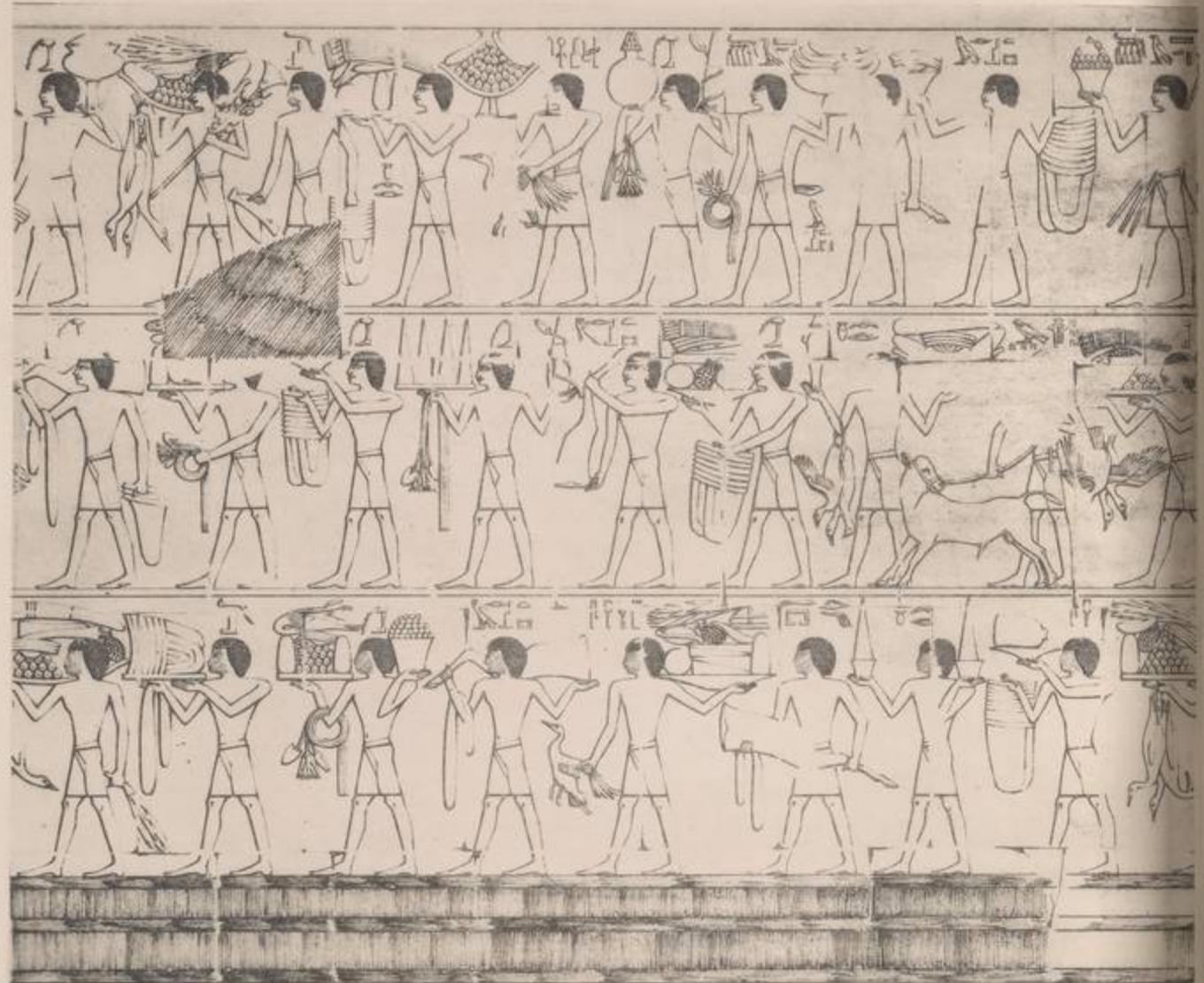


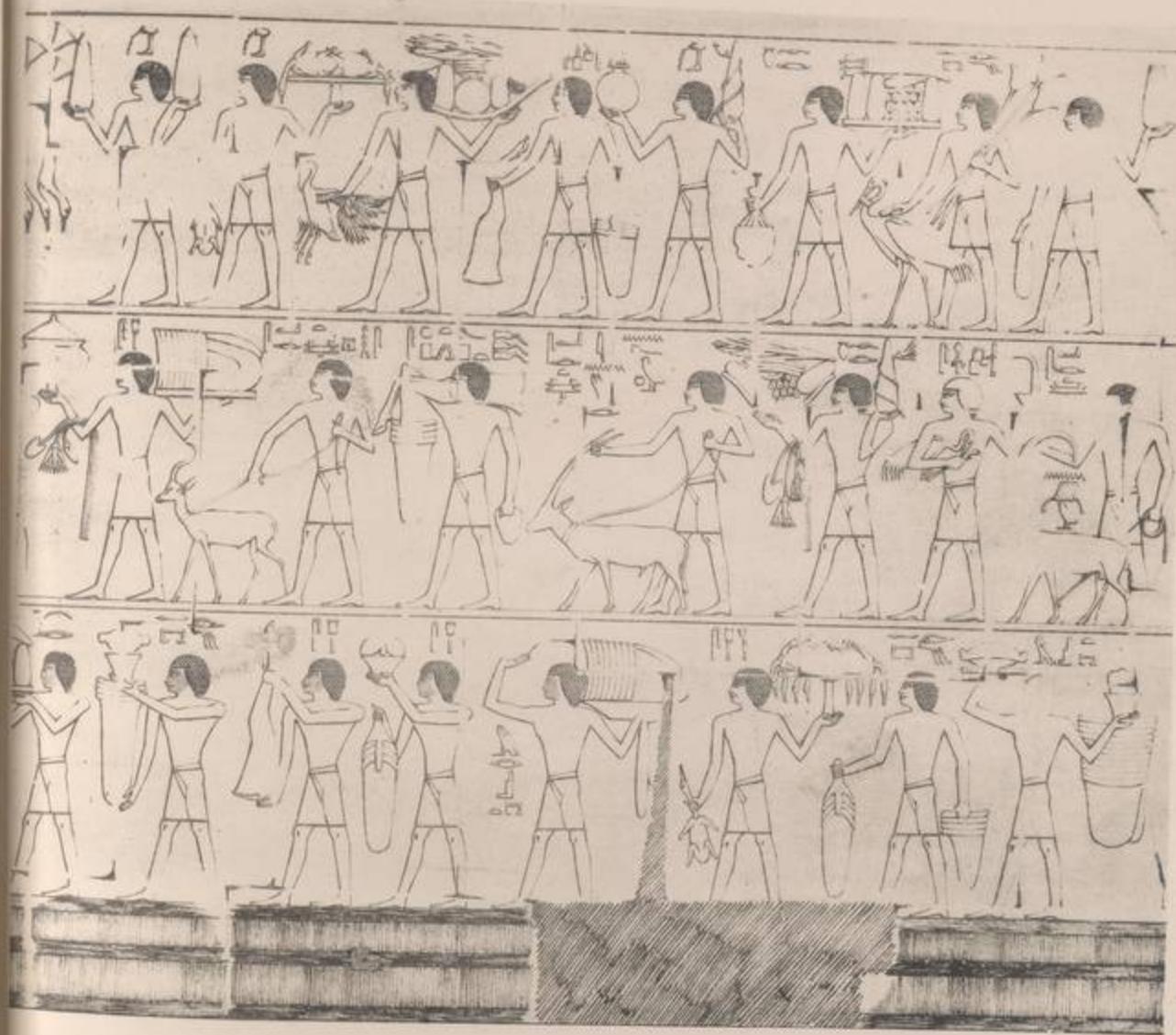
PROCESSION OF PRIESTS CARRYING OFFERINGS





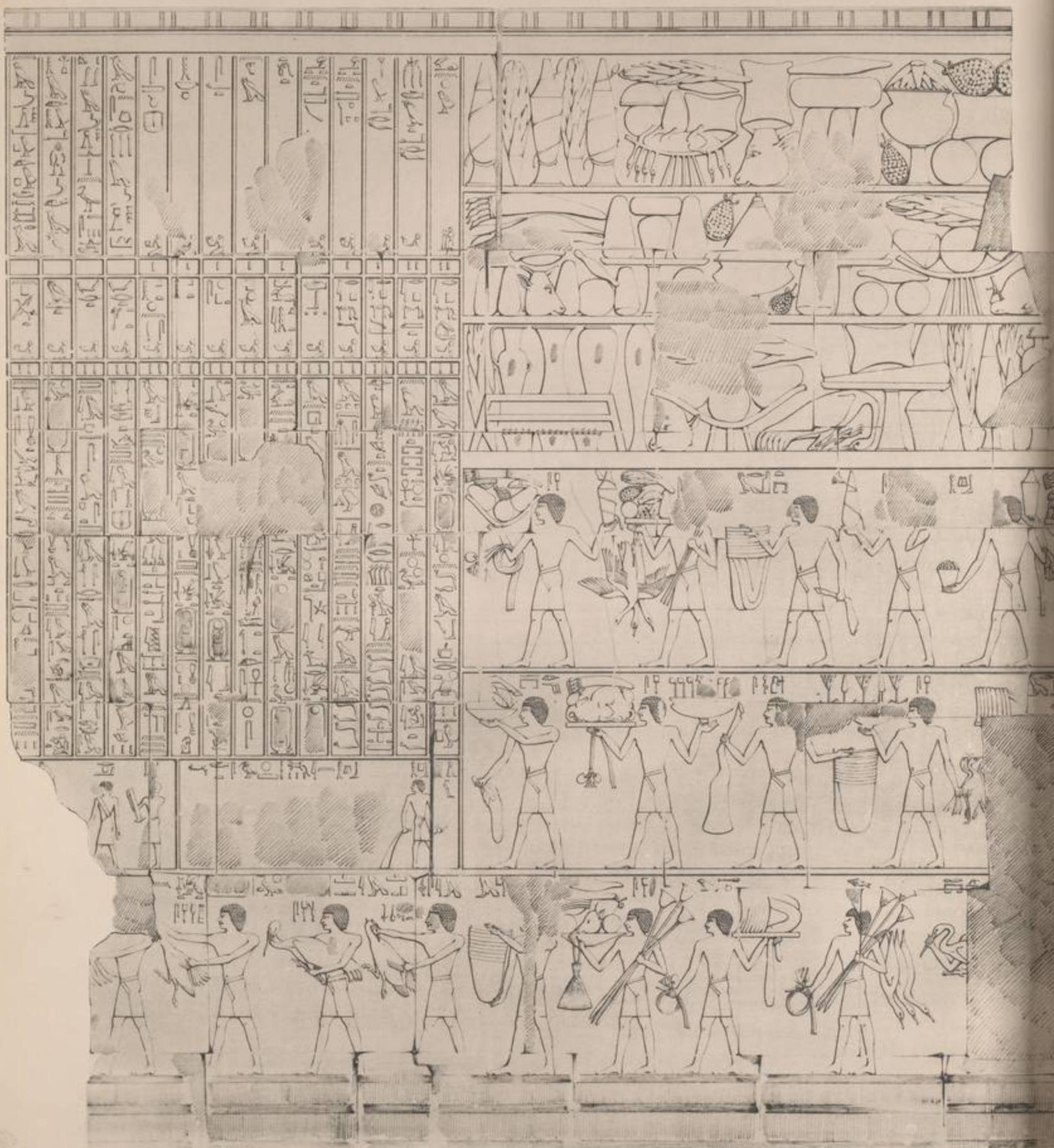
FUNERAL TEXT, HATSEPSU RECEIVING OFFERINGS.

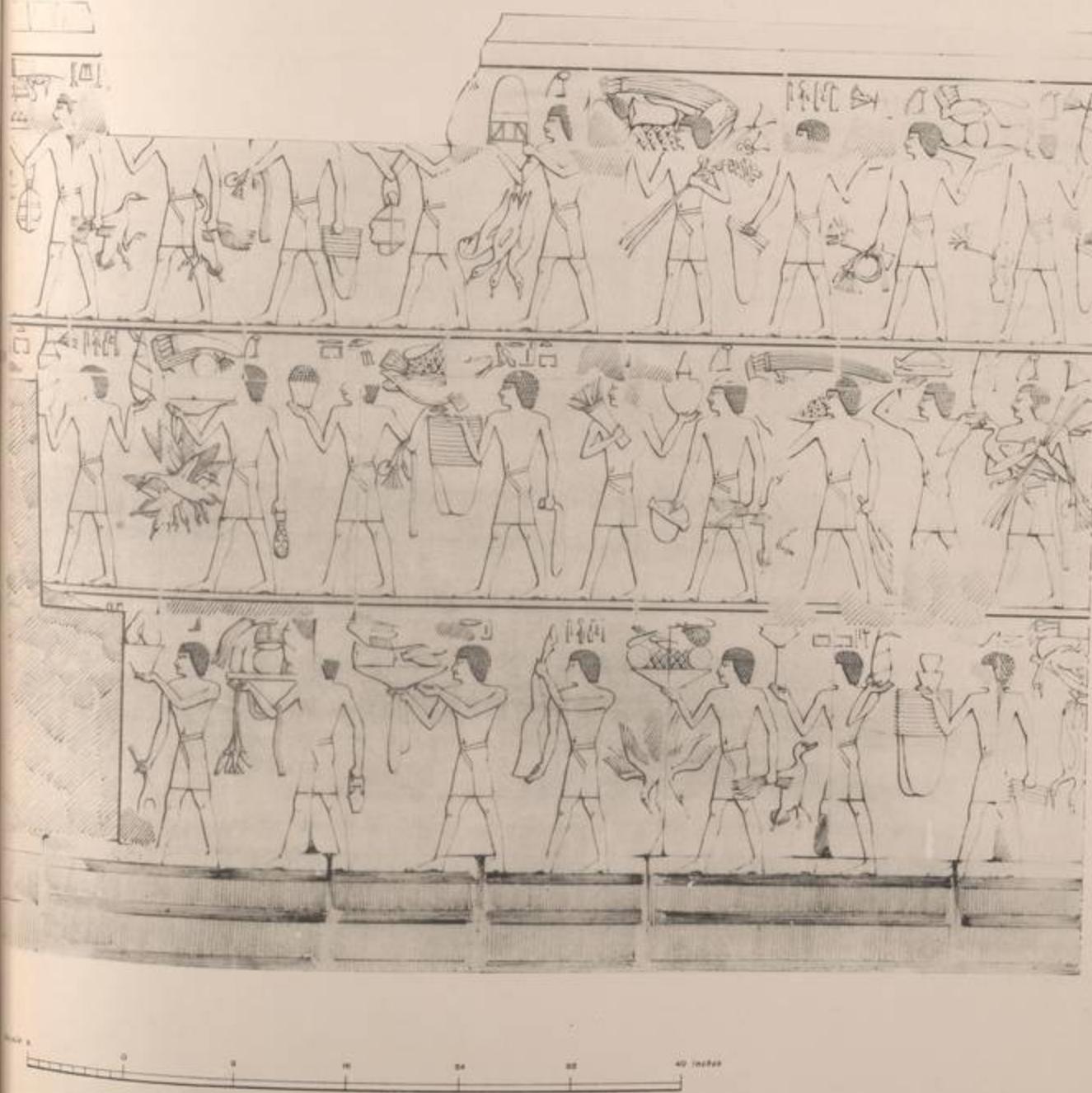




Scale 1
0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 INCHES

PROCESSION OF PRIESTS CARRYING OFFERINGS.



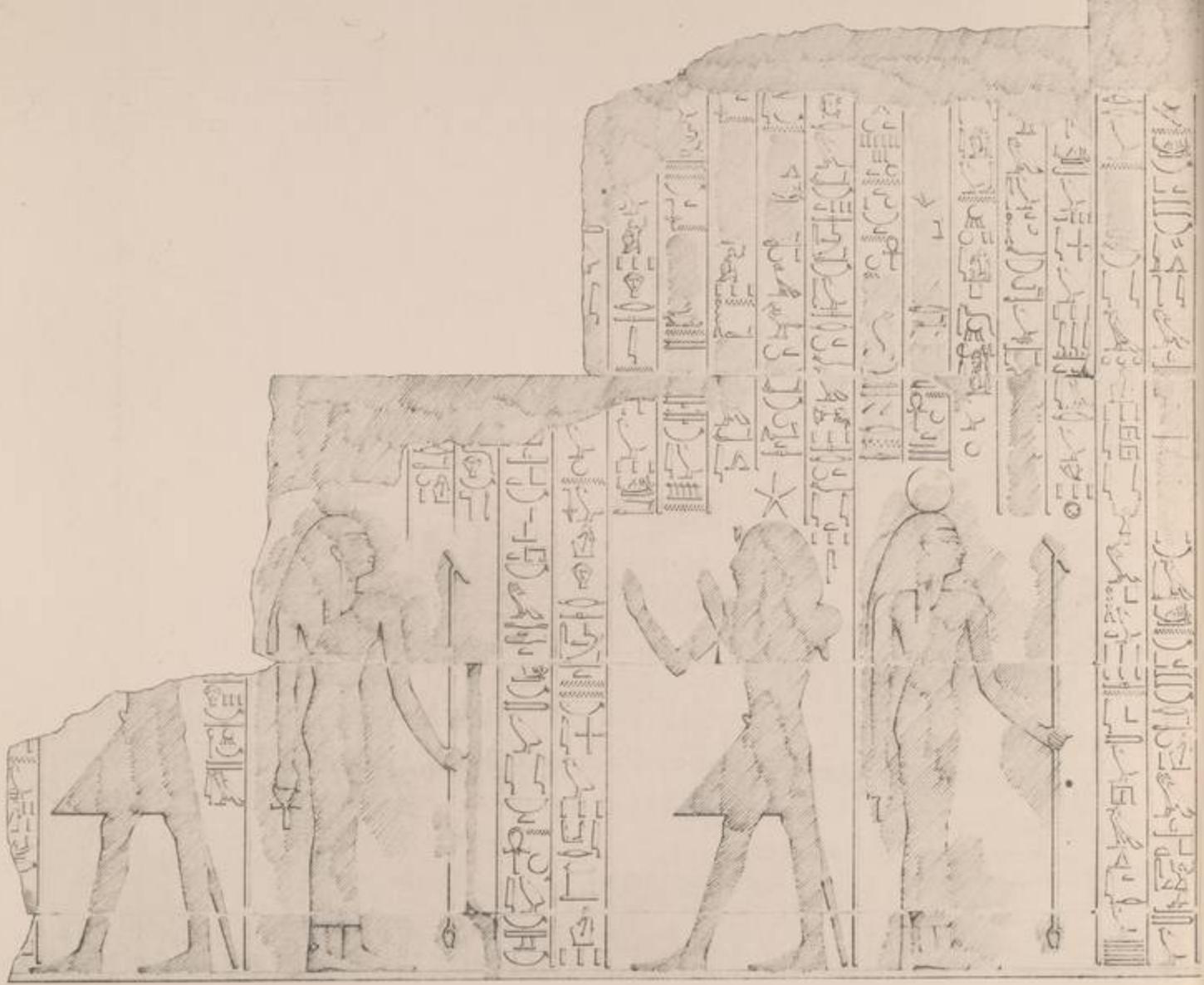


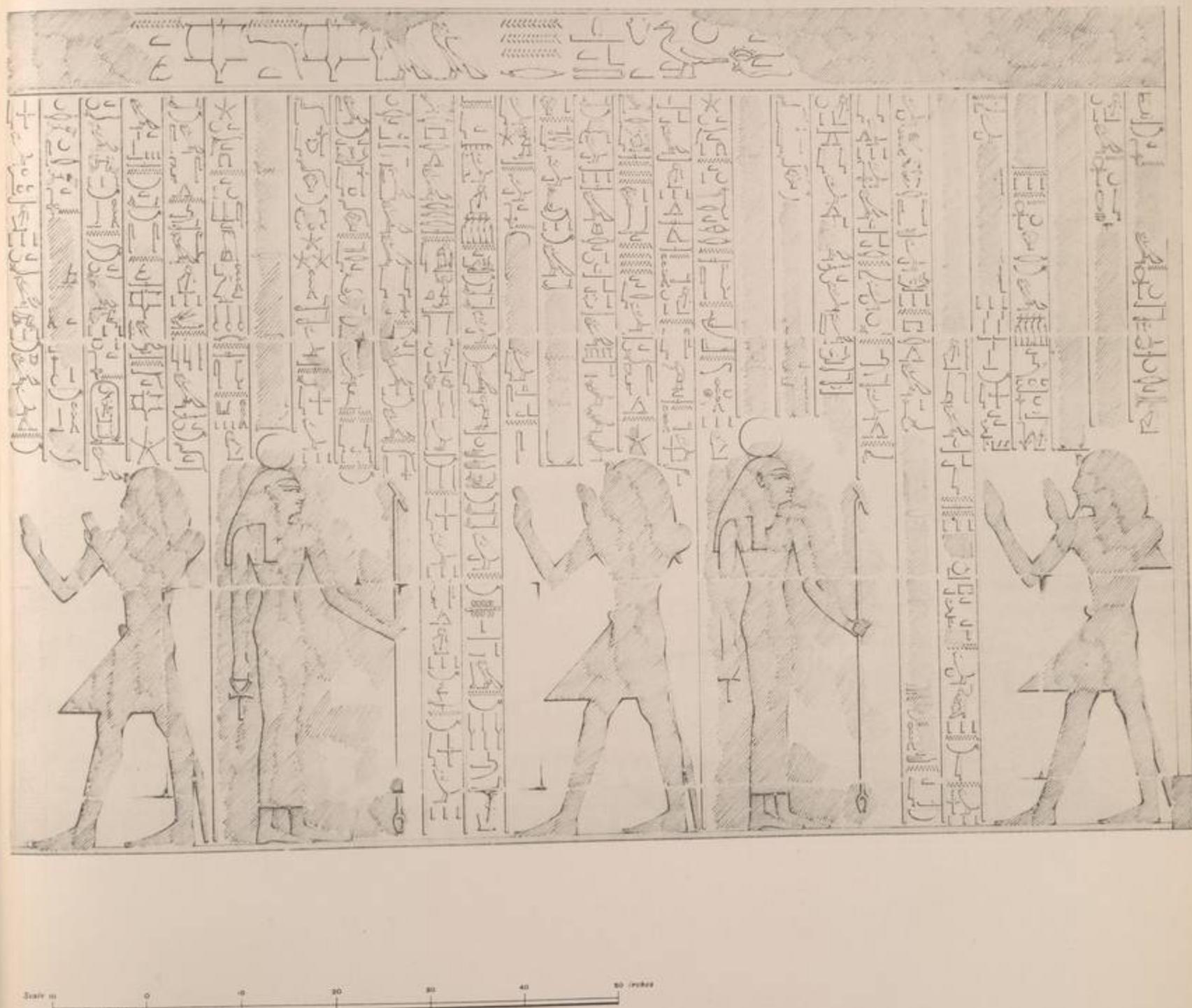
PROCESSION OF PRIESTS CARRYING OFFERINGS.



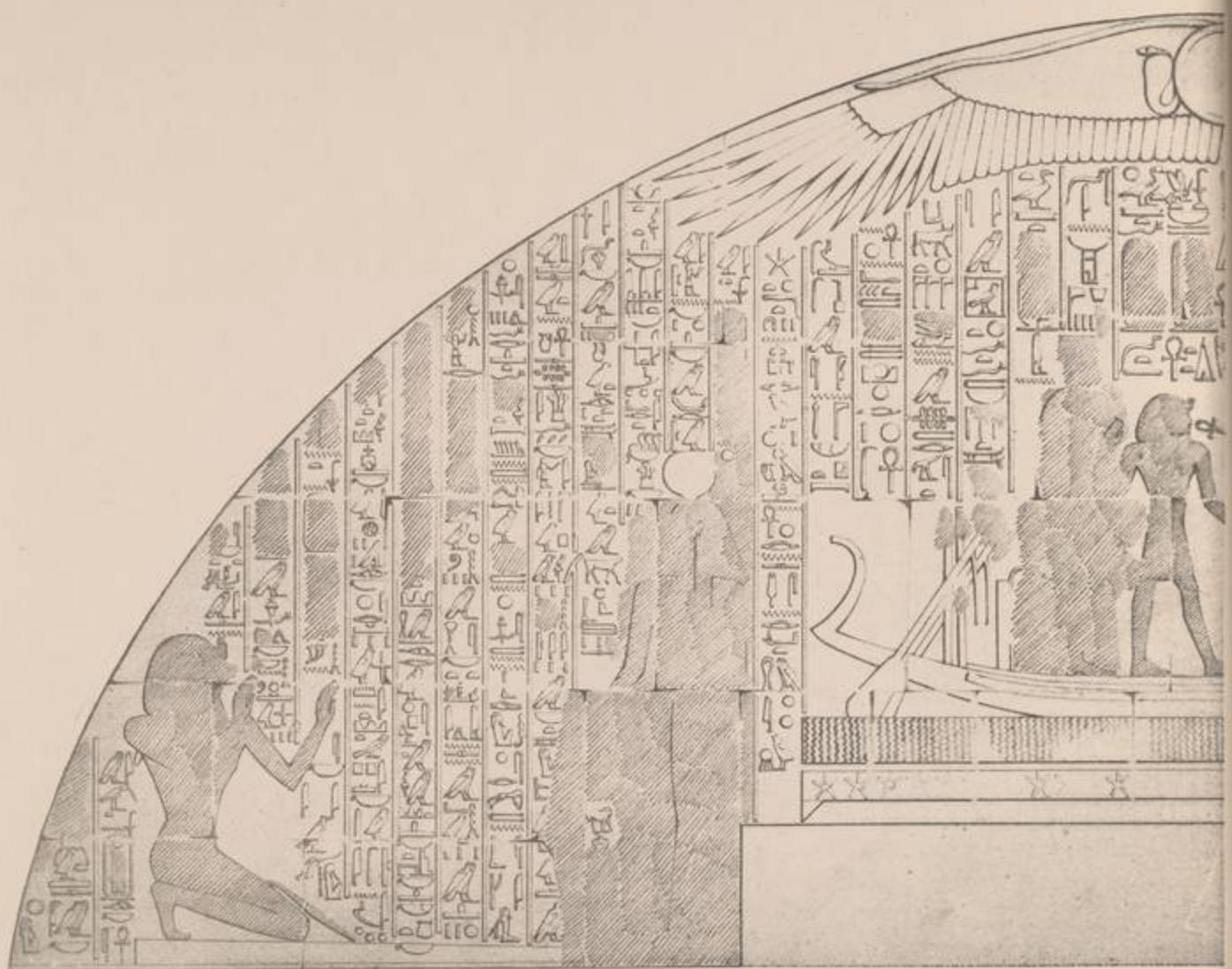
LIST OF OFFERINGS.

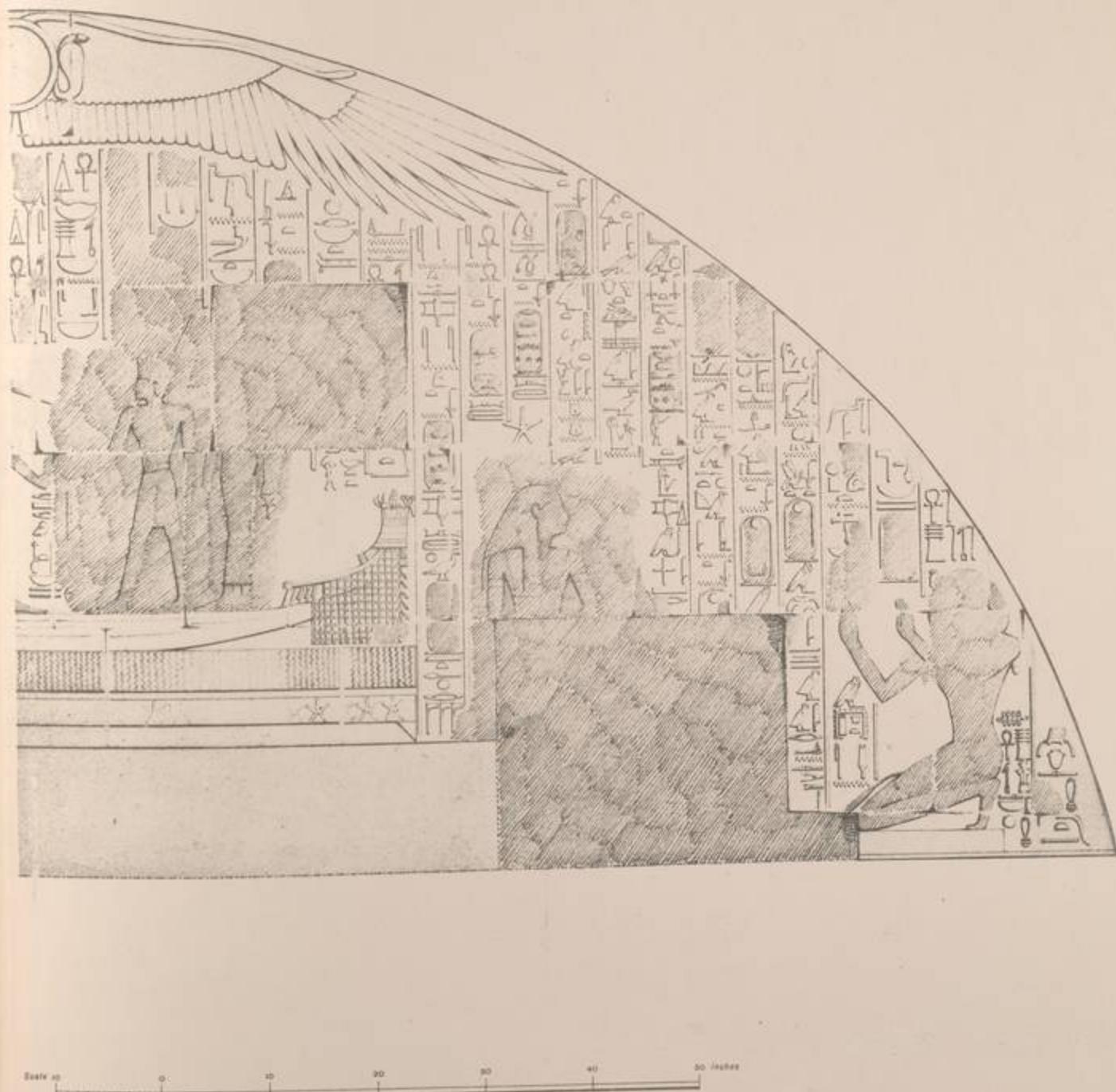
Scale 1 in. to 10 ft.





THE HOURS OF DAY.





HATSHEPSU IN THE SOLAR BOAT.



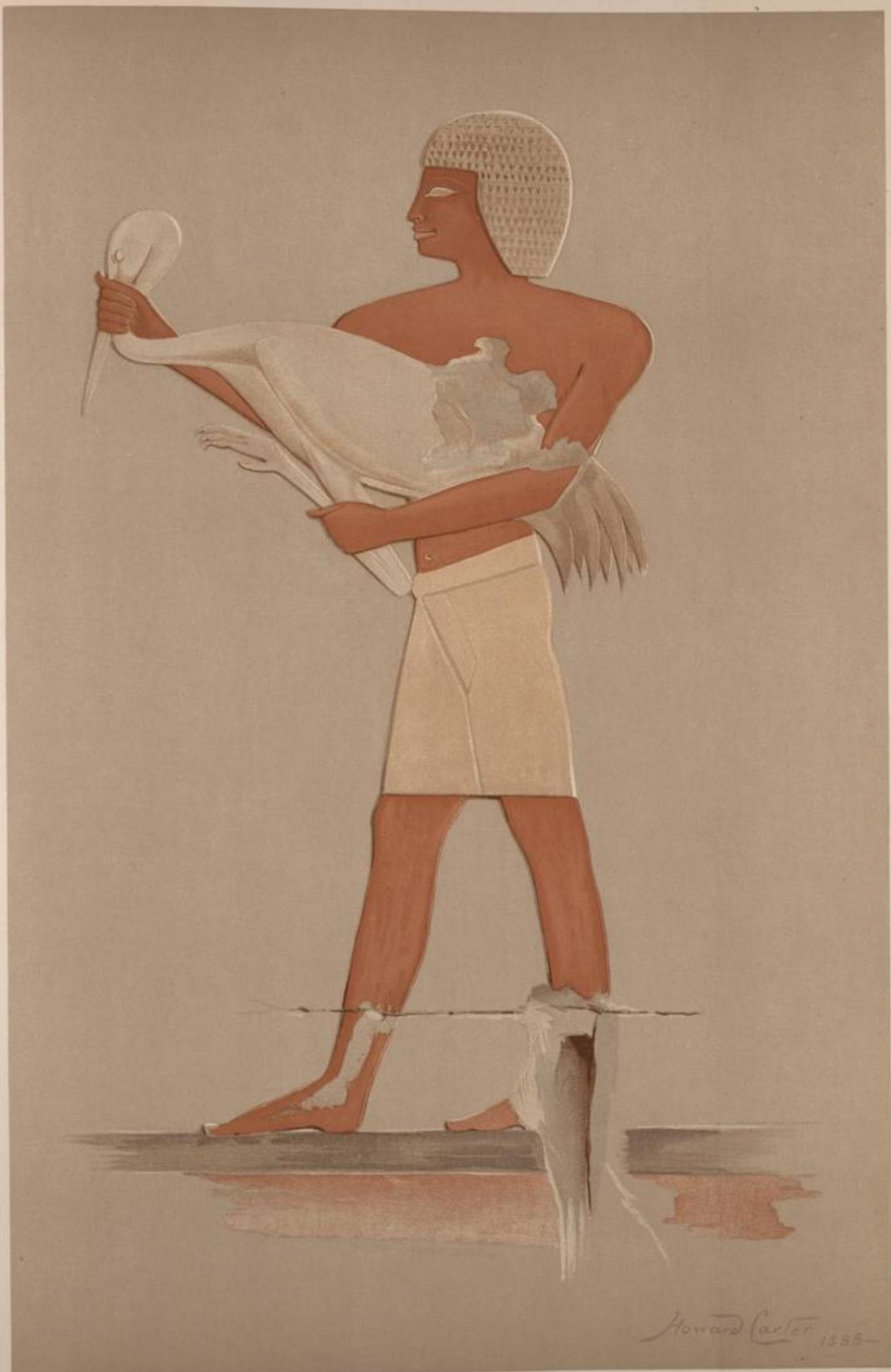
SOUTHERN HALL OF OFFERINGS, CEILING.



Scale in
0 10 20 30 40 50 inches

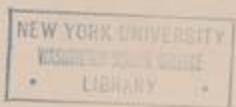
THE HOURS OF NIGHT.







CRANE OFFERED TO THE QUEEN.

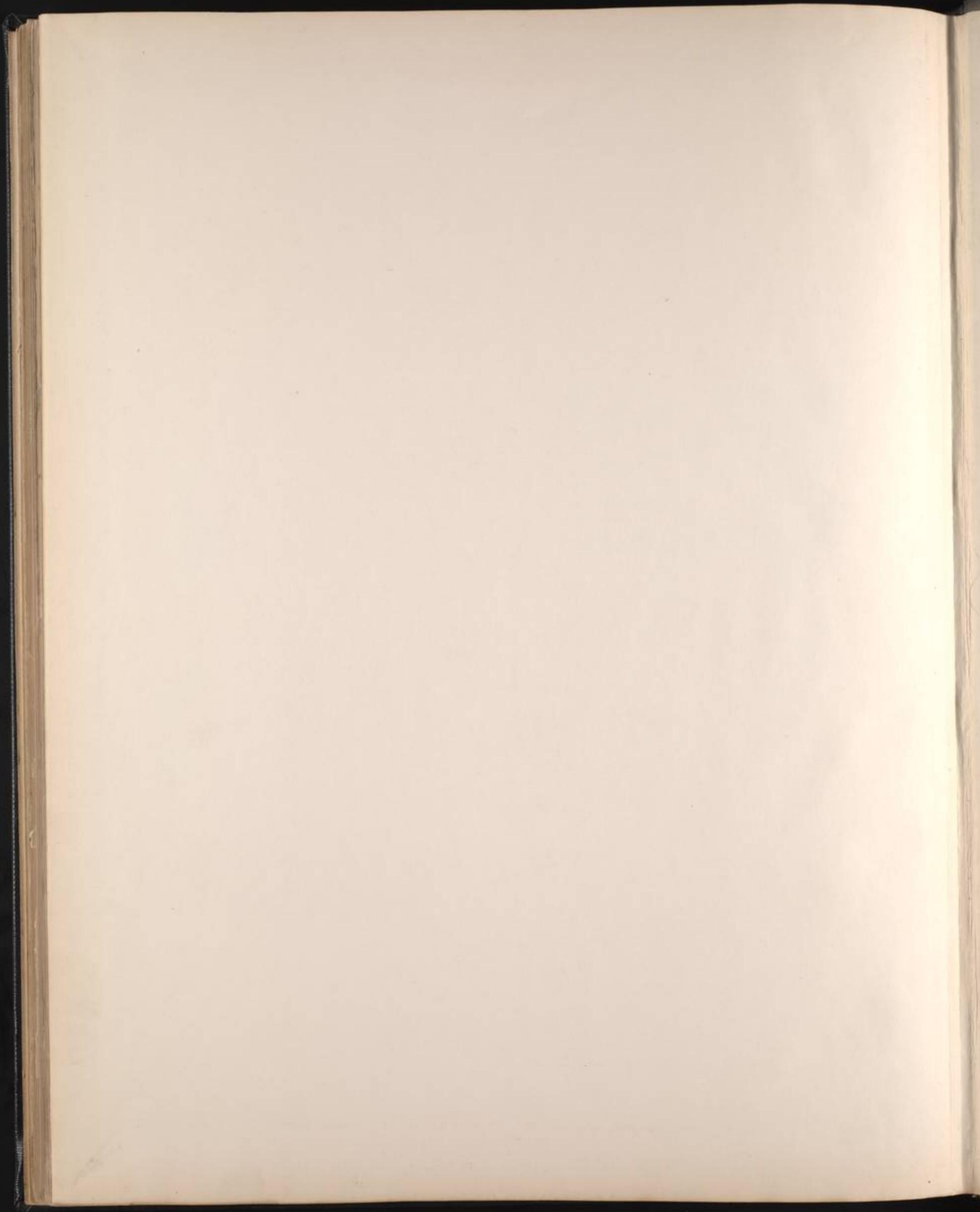


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